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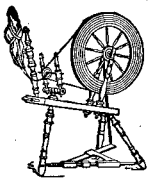

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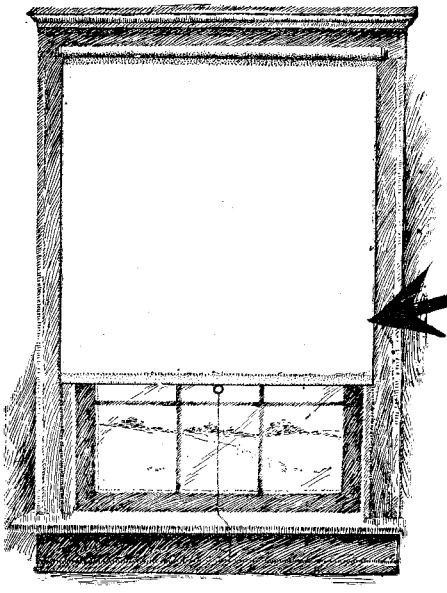

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The Outlook

19 DECEMBER, 1908

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STOP THIEF!

The Outlook hopes that it is true that Mr. Roosevelt has directed an inquiry to ascertain whether proceedings for criminal libel can be maintained against the New York World. The campaign canard started by that journal and taken up and given circulation by other journals of which the public had a right to expect better things, charging corruption in connection with the purchase of the Panama Canal from its French owners, had no basis of fact to support it and no shred of truth in it. So long as the charge was leveled only against the President, he wisely disregarded it. When it was made to include his brother-in-law and the brother of the President-elect, he met it with a vigorous and indignant denial. Neither of these gentlemen had any more connection with the purchase than the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, or the Pope of Rome. The excuse of the Indianapolis News, heretofore regarded as a reputable newspaper, that it found the story in the World is no excuse, since it ought to have known that fact to have been no guarantee of its truth. The excuse that the story had not been denied is untrue; for it had been denied by Mr. Cromwell, the counsel for the French companies, in the official investigation before the Senate, and subsequently in an entirely explicit letter sent to the World. Language cannot be framed to make the denial more explicit than the denials of Mr. Cromwell, now thrice repeated. The American people have fallen into the habit of not taking reports in the daily press seriously, and this in turn has led to an irresponsibility in considerable numbers of the American newspapers which is nothing less than a National calamity. If the citizens of the Republic are to act intelligently on great public questions, they must act on accurate information. And if certain newspapers lie maliciously and deliberately, as a few newspapers do, and if a considerably larger number grow habitually careless of the truth, and give circulation to unexamined gossip as though it were news, as a larger number do, the public are left either to act on such misinformation, or to depend on official reports, which may tell the truth and nothing but the truth, but do not tell always the whole truth. These facts make such an offense as this of the New York World and the Indianapolis News a crime against the people as well as and even more than against the individuals libeled. Liberty of the press has been too long made a cover for public crime. Liberty of the press is nowise different from any other liberty. A man is free to use his cane, his hands, and his feet; but if he uses his cane to break in a jeweler's window, his hands to steal the jewels, and his feet to run away, he is arrested and put in prison. He is free to use his printing-press; but if he uses it to rob an honorable man of a well-earned reputation, and to mystify and mislead the public on public questions, he ought to be put into the same prison alongside the other thief. To steal a reputation is as truly a crime as to steal a purse, and it is high time that America recognized this simple and self-evident truth.

A CONTROVERSY BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

In his recent Message the President called the attention of Congress to the injurious effect of an amendment to the last Sundry Civil Appropriation Act which related to the Secret Service. This forbade the use of any money appropriated by the Act as compensation or expenses of "any person detailed or transferred from the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department,

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or who may at any time during the fiscal year 1909 have been employed in or under said Secret Service Division." Inasmuch as the great miscellaneous appropriations for the Department of Justice, Department of Commerce and Labor, Treasury Department, Mints, Assay Offices, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Branch Treasuries, and for the collection of Revenue from Customs and Prevention of Frauds upon the Customs, are carried in this Sundry Civil Act, the restrictive paragraph prevents the payment of any investigator detailed from the Secret Service Division to any other than the Treasury Department. It even goes so far in its operations as to make it impossible for the Secretary of the Treasury to promote an employee of the Secret Service Division to any position in his own department where either the salary or the expenses of the employee would be payable from the funds provided by the Sundry Civil Act. It has been the practice of the administrative officers in the various departments to make requests on the Secretary of the Treasury for the "loan" of a trained investigator from the Secret Service Division. When such a man was supplied, his pay in the Secret Service Division, where he was a *per diem* employee, was stopped, and he was paid, from an available appropriation in the department to which he was assigned, an amount equal to that which he was receiving as a Secret Service agent. Upon the completion of the work to which he was specifically assigned, he returned to again take up the regular duties of the Secret Service field force. By prohibiting the use of any of these miscellaneous appropriations for the employment of these experienced men this legislation effectively blocked a practice which had been in existence for more than a quarter of a century and which had been regarded by the executive branch of the Government as particularly advantageous and desirable. The amendment confines the work of the Secret Service agents to suppressing counterfeiting and protecting the President. That the former practice was of public service can hardly be doubted by any one who reads the following passage relating to this point from the President's Message:

> To these practices we owe the securing of the evidence which enabled us to drive great lotteries out of business and secure a quarter of a million of dollars in fines from their promoters. These practices have enabled us to discover some of the most outrageous frauds in connection with the theft of Government land and Government timber by great corporations and by individuals. These practices have enabled us to get some of the evidence indispensable in order to secure the conviction of the wealthiest and most formidable criminals with whom the Government has to deal, both those operating in violation of the Anti-Trust Law and others. The amendment in question was of benefit to no one excepting to these criminals, and it seriously hampers the Government in the detection of crime and the securing of justice.

But many members of Congress have taken exception to the statement by the President that "The chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men." This sentence has been grotesquely perverted by some newspapers as an expression of the President's opinion of the motives of Congress, whereas it is perfectly clear that he simply states that this argument was in fact put forward in Congress. Whether the debates in Congress and other expression of opinion by Congressmen will or will not sustain the statement will doubtless be brought out by the investigation which has been instituted by Congress, and perhaps by further explanation from the President. After this point has been cleared up, it is to be hoped that Congress will direct its attention to the main point—whether or not the amendment in question does in fact hamper effective action against criminals, and, if it does, what is the duty of Congress.

THE SECOND CONSERVATION CONFERENCE

The people of the United States have just discovered the conservation of natural resources. Policies which in the states of Europe have been axioms for years are just dawning upon our National mind. But, once awake, we are taking up the policy of conservation

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with characteristic vigor. Three years ago, according to Speaker Cannon, the National Forest Service cost three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars; this year it cost nearly four millions, while the estimates for next year are about six millions. The most important event in the campaign for conservation was the White House Conference called last May by President Roosevelt. It was attended by the Governors of over forty States, by members of Congress and of the Supreme Court, by Cabinet officers, by representatives of great National organizations. The keynote of that Conference was a recognition of the fundamental importance of the natural resources of the country, and the paramount necessity for their conservation. The declaration adopted by the assembled Governors closed with the words, "Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity." Last week a second Conference met in Washington to continue the consideration of this great problem. The emphasis of this gathering was laid upon practical methods for carrying out the policy of conservation. The first practical step was taken as a result of the Governors' Conference in the appointment by the President of the National Conservation Commission. The chief duty of this body was to prepare an inventory of the natural resources of the country. For six months the Commission, with the hearty and cheerful cooperation of the workers in the Executive departments of the Government, especially the scientific and statistical bureaus, has been at work preparing this inventory. Its report was read to the Conference, but, as it is a confidential document, for the use of the President in transmitting to Congress information as to the state of the Union so far as natural resources are concerned, it cannot be made public at this time.

CONSERVATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WATERWAYS

The Conference was opened with a great meeting in the Belasco Theater addressed by President Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, and Governor Chamberlain, of Oregon. In his address President Roosevelt especially directed the attention of the Conference to the subject of waterways. "Every man, woman, and child within our borders," he said, "has an interest in them, through navigation, power, irrigation, or water supply, or through all four. We have neglected our waterways more than any other natural resource, and we must put an end to that neglect. . . . First, let us prepare a comprehensive plan for inland waterway development. . . . Such a plan must consider every use of the waters. It must put the interests of all the people in advance of any private interest whatsoever. The preparation of this comprehensive plan should begin at once. Second, let us proceed immediately with the construction of the waterways for which plans have already been approved, and which we are now certain will fit into the outlines of the general plan. Our previous policy of procrastination, delay, and fitful and partial action has borne its perfect fruit. Our waterways are deserted, and in return for our vast expenditures we have little or no actual navigation to show. The people are ready for a change. Let us have it at once." A little later he said: "Forests and waterways cannot be separated in any successful treatment of either. Forest protection and river development must go hand in hand." In addition, therefore, to providing a waterway plan and proceeding at once on such portions of the plans as are ready, we must "provide amply for forest protection against fire, against reckless cutting, against wanton or reckless destruction of all kinds, and secure the Appalachian and White Mountain National forests without delay." The President's call for waterway development in accordance with a comprehensive plan was indorsed at nearly every meeting of the Conference by Governors, legislators, and business men. Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, declared that the development of inland waterways is the greatest problem of the hour, and said, "I believe the greatest investment this Nation can make to-day is to construct a canal from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico. It will solve the problem of rate regulation in the interior." The growing public demand for an adequate

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and comprehensive plan of waterway development was further displayed in the meetings of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress which were being held in Washington at the same time as those of the Conference. Over four thousand delegates from all parts of the country were met to further the cause of waterway development. The Congress, under the leadership of Representative Joseph Ransdell, of Louisiana, Representative James H. Davidson, of Wisconsin, and Representative E. C. Ellis, of Missouri, all members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House of Representatives, has consistently stood for a broad plan of waterway development, and has steadfastly refused to give its support to any specific project. The meetings of the Congress were crowded, and the subject of river and harbor development was discussed from every conceivable angle and with the greatest enthusiasm. Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador, for example, told the Congress of Great Britain's comparatively limited and illuminating experience with waterway development. He called the attention of those who are inclined to assert that the development of river and canal transportation will be a blow to the railways to the fact that in Germany the Rhine, which is extensively used for freight transportation, is paralleled by two trunk lines of railway, each of which is also used to its fullest capacity. The prevailing sentiment, both in the Conservation Conference and in the Rivers and Harbors Congress, evidently representative of the best public opinion of the country, showed itself in favor of the comprehensive development of our waterways by the National Government under a permanent commission empowered to make a complete plan and to carry out the various projects included in it.

HOW SHALL WATERWAY DEVELOPMENT BE PAID FOR?

If a great inclusive campaign of waterway development is to be entered upon, the question immediately arises, How shall it be paid for? On this point a new and to some minds a somewhat startling suggestion was made at the Conference and indorsed in many directions. President Roosevelt, in speaking of waterway improvement, said: "Let us have it and at once. If we can pay the cost from current revenues, let us do so. If not, let us issue bonds. By either method let us have the waterways, and that quickly." The suggestion of a bond issue for such a purpose has a precedent in the method of paying for the construction of the Panama Canal. But aside from this case, so far as we know, bonds have been issued by the United States Government only for the payment of expenses of war or for exigencies arising from financial disturbances. The plan suggested by the President received indorsement from Mr. Taft. In his speech he said:

> I agree with what the President has said to you about the issuance of Federal bonds for the funding of permanent National improvements. . . . I have no compunctions on the subject of issuing bonds if the debt to be contracted ought to be met by bonds. I think that men sometimes overdo the business of meeting what ought to be distributed expenses out of current income. I think there is good reason for issuing bonds for these improvements that are to be permanent, and not to spend current income for them. Sometimes it takes as much courage and involves as much real public interest to issue bonds for a purpose for which bonds ought to be used as it does to pay as we go. In other words, it is a mere question of economic policy, and the mere fear of criticism because an administration has issued bonds should not prevent us from doing justice to ourselves and posterity.

It was also indorsed by Vice-President Fairbanks in his opening speech before the Rivers and Harbors Congress, by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and by other prominent speakers. The only opposition to the suggestion came from the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Speaker Cannon wisely declared that we want to go slowly and to have the work done sanely and safely. In this declaration the real friends of waterway development will heartily concur; and it is just because they want the work done safely and sanely that they ask for a commission to prepare a comprehensive plan. In what a different sense Speaker Cannon interprets the words safe and sane is shown by the method which he advocated of dealing with river and harbor improve-

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ments. He stated in substance: All legislation is a matter of compromise. For any measure that we wish to pass we must get a majority in Congress. We have in Illinois a project for a fourteen-foot channel from Lake Michigan to St. Louis. The State has appropriated twenty million dollars for this work. The work will cost thirty-one million dollars in all. Now, I do not expect to get many votes from the Pacific Coast or from New England or from the South for an appropriation to complete this project. When I advocate this project, there will be gentlemen coming here "like flaming brands" to demand something for the Ohio River and for the Missouri River and for projects in the East and the West and the South. All legislation, as I have said, is a matter of compromise. I suppose we will have to throw into the pot with our project something from New England and from the Pacific Coast and from other regions in order to get anything out of it. Mr. Cannon is opposed to a bond issue, to an executive commission, and to the development of a comprehensive plan. He favors legislation on this great subject by compromise—just the method which has for years produced the River and Harbor Bills, which have become known as the legislative "pork barrel." It is this type of bill and this method of legislation by compromise between special interests and special localities which have drained from the Treasury every few years millions of dollars without any appreciable general improvement in the waterways of the country. It may not be advisable to develop our waterways by the use of borrowed money. But until we substitute for the "pork barrel" method of legislation the method which has been adopted in the case of the Panama Canal and in the great irrigation work of the Government, our waterways will remain a wasted resource.

THE RED CROSS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF

Four years ago the American Red Cross, by its reorganization, took a decisive step toward the position of National importance and National usefulness which it should by right occupy. Last week, at its annual meeting in Washington, a second step was taken in the same direction, less important only because it necessarily followed the first. By an Act of Congress passed in 1904, the American National Red Cross was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and brought directly under Government supervision. Its charter provided that five members of its Board of Incorporators were to be chosen from the Departments of State, War, Navy, Treasury, and Justice. Its accounts were to be audited by the disbursing officer of the War Department. The entire support, however, aside from the income from a small endowment, comes from the dues of individual members and voluntary contributions. The election of Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, as the first president of the reorganized Red Cross, emphasized its new relationship to the Federal Government and its new position as a body of really National scope. For three years the National Red Cross has been an efficient agency for the collection of funds for relief in time of disaster. Through its subordinate State bodies it has found no difficulty in arousing public interest when a calamity has occurred, and in securing contributions for the alleviation of the consequent distress. But there its work has perforce ended. It was unprepared to superintend the expenditure of the money and the administration of the relief. That work has been left to local groups, generally untrained and unprepared for such a task. The Red Cross, by the limitations of its organization, has been prevented from carrying out to its logical completion the trusteeship which it assumed in accepting contributions for relief work. At the meeting last week two new features were introduced into its organization for the purpose of enabling it in the future to round out the work which is its peculiar province. The new office of National Director was created, the incumbent of which is to be the executive agent of the central committee. He is to give his entire time to the work, and whenever Red Cross money or Red Cross supplies are to be distributed, he is to represent the Red

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Cross in the distribution. In case of disaster he will proceed at once to the scene and take active official charge of the administration of relief as represented by the money or supplies collected and forwarded by the Red Cross. His knowledge and experience in relief work will make it possible for the actual distribution to be carried out along scientific lines. But, in order to make his work of the greatest efficiency, he must have at his command the services of an adequate number of trained assistants. It is obvious that the demands upon the Red Cross are too infrequent and too variable to justify the expense which would be involved in maintaining a permanent staff of such assistants. In order to supply in time of need the expert assistants which the National Director must have, a new class of members of the society has been established. They are known as Institutional Members, and will be drawn from the great charitable organizations in the prominent centers of the country. Such bodies are the Charity Organization Society of New York, the Chicago Bureau of Charities, and the Associated Charities of San Francisco. In the employ of these societies are many workers who have just the skill and training which the Red Cross service demands. In case of a catastrophe requiring relief measures, the Institutional Member nearest to the place of the disaster will co-operate with the National Director in the administration of the society's work by lending to the Red Cross some of its expert workers. The establishment of the office of National Director and of Institutional Memberships will enable the Red Cross to control the relief situation from beginning to end, to become not only a collecting and forwarding agency, but a distributing agency as well. It is hoped that it will also open a larger field for the activity of the society. In many cases the society has been compelled in the past to decline to give assistance in certain cases, either because the community in which the disaster occurred has been able to provide all the required funds and supplies necessary, or because it was considered that the disaster was hardly of sufficient magnitude to justify the Red Cross in asking the country for money. Under its new plan of administration, even when a community can itself provide all the money and supplies necessary, the Red Cross may render valuable assistance by giving the services of its National Director and its trained agents; and with its new equipment for distributing its own funds and guarding its own interest, it is believed that the society will wisely take cognizance of many disasters which heretofore it has been compelled to ignore. A further step in promoting the efficiency of the work of the society was taken in the division of its work into three departments, War Relief, Emergency Relief, and International Relief. Each department will be under the care of a special board, with officers of the army and navy prominently connected with the War Relief Board, men and women of experience in relief work in the United States composing the Emergency Relief Board, and officers of the Department of State in prominent positions upon the National Relief Board. Mr. Taft, to the great satisfaction of every one connected with the society, consented to be re-elected as its President. The new position of National Director was filled by the selection of Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, who for eleven years has been general superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities. One of the admirable activities of the Red Cross is the campaign which it is making through its State branches against tuberculosis. Funds for this work are being collected by the sale of the Christmas stamps already described in The Outlook.

FORCED LABOR IN AMERICA

In an Alabama jail there is a negro named Alonzo Bailey. He is the jail cook. He is probably unconscious of the fact that he has raised a grave Constitutional question. His case has been submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. Alonzo Bailey made a contract in writing to work for the Riverside Company twelve months for twelve dollars a month. In consideration of signing this contract he

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received fifteen dollars. After working one month and four days he quit work, and did not refund the fifteen dollars that had been advanced to him. The Riverside Company, charging that he had done this without just cause, and therefore had violated a criminal statute of the State, had him committed. This statute, which applies to landlords as well as to employers, provides that any one who makes a written contract to perform a service for pay, and after receiving money or other property fails to perform the service without refunding the money or pay for the property, must be fined double the amount of damage suffered by the injured party, but not more than three hundred dollars, one-half of the fine to go to the county and the other half to go to the injured party. According to the penal methods of Alabama, a person punished by fine, who is unable to pay his fine, works out his fine at hard labor under contractors who find such convict labor profitable. It is true that the statute qualifies its provision by the phrase, "with intent to injure or defraud his employer;" but this phrase is interpreted by the further provision of the statute which declares that "the refusal or failure of any person, who enters into such contract, to perform such act or service or to cultivate such land, or refund such money, or pay for such property without just cause shall be *prima facie* evidence of the intent to injure his employer or landlord or to defraud him." In other words, the fact that Alonzo Bailey quit work in February, 1908, was, according to the statute, *prima facie* evidence that he intended to defraud his employer both at the time he quit work and on the preceding December 26, the day that he made the contract.

AN OPPRESSIVE LAW

The way this statute works in actual practice has been illustrated several times. For example, a young negro woman made a contract for her service. After working six months, a company brought a gang of negro workmen into the neighborhood. Among them was a stalwart young colored man who fell in love with this woman and married her, and took her to his home in another State. According to the statute, the fact that this woman married this man is evidence that she intended to commit a fraud six months before she knew of his existence. In another case, a negro who had been at work under contract for six months was sued and his wages seized to pay a debt. Being unable to provide for his family, and of course being unable to refund the money he had obtained from his employer, he quit working for him and entered the employment of another. This act on his part is defined by the statute as evidence that he had intended to defraud his employer six months before he knew he was to be sued. The law is, of course, obviously drawn for the purpose of keeping up a fairly continuous labor supply; and to those who know how it has been invoked it is as obviously intended to be used for negro labor. According to Alabama statutes a prisoner cannot testify as to his uncommunicated motives. Therefore, when a negro signs a contract with a white employer without witnesses, and afterward fails to perform that contract; he has no way of proving that his breach of contract was not fraudulent. In other words, this *prima facie* evidence becomes in practice conclusive evidence. There is, of course, no equivalent means of punishing an employer who fails to perform his contract. The statute has been attacked on the ground that it is unconstitutional. It was held to be unconstitutional by Judge Thomas, of the City Court of Montgomery. But his decision in this respect was overturned by the Alabama Supreme Court. In the case of Alonzo Bailey, therefore, Judge Thomas had to follow the higher judicial decision, and, contrary to his own previous ruling, affirm the constitutionality of the law. The counsel for Alonzo Bailey appealed to the Supreme Court of Alabama for a writ of habeas corpus, and, being met with a denial, appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. While the case is pending The Outlook does not intend to discuss the constitutionality of this statute under which employers and landlords may obtain negro labor under duress; but it does not hesitate to say

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that, whether the statute is held by the Supreme Court to be constitutional or unconstitutional, it is obviously vicious. It remains to be decided whether the Legislature of Alabama had the constitutional right to enact such a law; but there is no doubt that the Legislature has the right to repeal the law. There are men in Alabama who, contrary to their own material interests, are fighting this statute and hope that it will in some way be destroyed. Such men are fighting the battle not only on behalf of a weak race, but also on behalf of the honor of a great State.

DECENCY AS AN ISSUE

Some weeks ago Mr. James G. Woodward was nominated in the white primary for the office of Mayor in the city of Atlanta. The white primary arose out of the demoralizing conditions of twenty years ago, when two factions competed for the negro vote. Mr Woodward had been Mayor of the city twice before, and, though identified with one of the special interests of the city, had made a fairly good executive. He had, however, disgraced the city more than once by public drunkenness, and he was held partly responsible, in public opinion, for the Atlanta riot, which might have been checked in its earlier stages by prompter action on his part. He was also recognized by the labor unions as their special representative, and his influence with them, with his promises for better behavior in future, secured him this third nomination in the white primary. Not long after his nomination he was found in a state of intoxication in the red light district of the city, and the full details of the affair were published by one of the Atlanta papers. The publication aroused the city to action, and, after full consultation by representative men of all classes, Mr. Robert F. Maddox, a prominent young banker of Atlanta, a man of high ideals and clean life, was nominated by a mass-meeting of citizens. Mr. Woodward at first withdrew from the race, but later reconsidered his withdrawal, and a fast and furious campaign was waged in the few days preceding the election. Mr. Maddox was more or less identified with one of the public utility corporations, but the single issue between the two candidates was an issue of decency. In the election, December 2, Mr. Maddox received a majority of 3,149, carrying every ward of the city except two. One of the significant incidents of the election was the alignment of the negro voters with the cause of decency. The Atlanta Journal, in commenting on the election, says: "The negro voters of Atlanta are entitled to the appreciation of the public for the high sense of citizenship they exhibited yesterday in supporting Mr. Maddox and the cause of good morals. It is an evidence of the esteem in which the best element of our population hold the duties of citizenship, and a growing regard for higher civic and domestic ideals." As is well known, the great mass of the negro vote had been practically disfranchised in Georgia even before the adoption of the Suffrage Amendment, which does not go into effect before January 1. One result of this disenfranchisement has been the elimination of the more ignorant and venal voters among the negroes themselves, and the opportunity of the better element to cast such a vote as was recorded in the Atlanta election. It may very well happen that the negro voters who can comply with the terms of the Suffrage Amendment will hold the balance of power in local elections where they can win the respect and friendship of the better class of white citizens by siding with them on moral issues.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND ELIHU ROOT ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

A League for the Civic Education of Women has recently been organized in New York City, which has for one of its principal objects a presentation, by and on behalf of women who are opposed to woman's suffrage, of the reasons why they are opposed to it. The first meeting of the League was held at the Berkeley Theater on the afternoon of December 4. It was well attended by an audience almost wholly composed of women, among whom, judging from the applause and from some interruptions from the floor, there were some believers

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in woman's suffrage. Richard Watson Gilder presided, and brief addresses were made by him and by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University. The principal address of the afternoon was made by Lyman Abbott, and will be published hereafter in The Outlook. At the close of the meeting a street meeting in opposition was organized by some suffragettes. In the evening a mass-meeting in favor of woman's suffrage was held in Carnegie Hall, at which addresses were made by Mrs. Philip Snowdon, of England, and by the Rev. Charles F. Aked, formerly of Liverpool, now of New York City. At the anti-suffrage meeting in the afternoon the following letters from the President of the United States and from Secretary of State Elihu Root were read. In reading the letter from the President Dr. Abbott explained that it was not written to the meeting nor for publication, but was read by him with the President's consent. It was subsequently vigorously attacked by some of the suffragettes as "insulting" because of his expressed opinion that he did not regard the question as very important. The letters are as follows:

FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The White House,
Washington, November 10, 1908.

Personally I believe in woman's suffrage, but I am not an enthusiastic advocate of it because I do not regard it as a very important matter. I am unable to see that there has been any special improvement in the position of women in those States in the West that have adopted woman suffrage, as compared with those States adjoining them that have not adopted it. I do not think that giving the women suffrage will produce any marked improvement in the condition of women. I do not believe that it will produce any of the evils feared, and I am very certain that when women as a whole take any special interest in the matter they will have the suffrage if they desire it. But at present I think most of them are lukewarm; I find some actively for it, and some actively against it. I am, for the reasons above given, rather what you would regard as lukewarm or tepid in my support of it because, while I believe in it, I do not regard it as of very much importance. I believe that man and woman should stand on an equality of right, but I do not believe that equality of right means identity of function; and I am more and more convinced that the great field, the indispensable field, for the usefulness of woman is as the mother of the family. It is her work in the household, in the home, her work in bearing and rearing the children, which is more important than any man's work, and it is that work which should be normally the woman's special work, just as normally the man's work should be that of the breadwinner, the supporter of the home, and if necessary the soldier who will fight for the home. There are exceptions as regards both man and woman; but the full and perfect life, the life of highest happiness and of highest usefulness to the State, is the life of the man and the woman who are husband and wife, who live in the partnership of love and duty, the one earning enough to keep the home, the other managing the home and the children.

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

FROM ELIHU ROOT

Department of State,
Washington, November 23, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Jones:

I have examined with great interest the announcement of the League for the Civic Education of Women for the coming season and the subjects of the lectures which are proposed.

I think the work which you are proposing to do will be of very great benefit. I do not myself consider that the granting of suffrage to women would, under the existing conditions, be any improvement in our system of government. On the contrary, I think it would rather reduce than increase the electoral efficiency of our people. I am inclined to think, however, that if the women of the United States, or any very large majority of them, should really come to want the right of suffrage for themselves, they would ultimately get it. For the purpose of exercising the right of suffrage if they should ever get it, and for the purpose of determining intelligently whether they really want it, the women of the country generally ought to have and to seize the opportunity for a greater degree of education in questions of government and in the practical art of government than they have had up to this time. I think such lectures and distribution of literature as you propose will be a very valuable aid in bringing this about.

With kind regards, I am,
Very sincerely yours,
ELIHU ROOT.

Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones,
222 Madison Avenue, New York.

THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE OF THE CHURCHES

No action of any church body in recent years surpasses in importance the adoption by the Federal Council of Churches of resolutions concerning the relation of the Church to modern industry, in fact, to the whole social order of the day. They may be said to constitute a charter, a

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bill of rights, which the Protestant Churches of America recognize on behalf not only of those who toil but also of society. These resolutions consist of two general divisions, with a supplementary conclusion. The first division consists of a statement of ten subdivisions; the second division consists of five general recommendations with a concluding specific recommendation to the Executive Committee of the Council. If printed in full, these resolutions would occupy about four pages of The Outlook. In passing these resolutions the Federal Council of Churches, representing thirty-three denominations and eighteen million communicants, representing, that is, the great body of Protestants in the United States, affirms the faith of the Church in the teachings and the authority of Jesus Christ as a solution of the problems of modern industry; it acknowledges that "the organized Church has not always spoken when it should have borne witness, and its plea for righteousness has not always been uttered with boldness;" it declares that the Church must by its deeds proclaim its primacy among all uplifting forces; it recognizes the complexity of modern industrial conditions and counsels tolerance; it asserts that the mere organization of capital or labor does not determine right and wrong, and that the Church must emphasize the Gospel as a test of both individual and collective conduct; it records approval of those employers "who have shown in the conduct of their business a fraternal spirit and a disposition to deal justly and humanely with their employees as to wages, profit-sharing, welfare work, protection against accidents, sanitary conditions of toil, and readiness to submit differences to arbitration," and of "such labor organizations as have under wise leadership throughout many years, by patient cultivation of just feelings and temperate views among their members, raised the efficiency of service, set the example of calmness and self-restraint in conference with employers, and promoted the welfare not only of the men of their own craft, but of the entire body of workingmen;" it recognizes the ethical character of the labor movement; it notes the growth of good will and believes that employers and wage-earners may "rebuke the superciliousness of power and the obstinacy of opinion" by applying to labor contests the Golden Rule; it declares as to certain specific problems that in its opinion the Churches must stand:

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind.

For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries, and mortality.

For the abolition of child labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For the suppression of the "sweating system."

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

For the abatement of poverty.

In concluding the first division of these resolutions the Council extends its greeting of human brotherhood and its pledge of sympathy "to the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor."

THE SOCIAL PROGRAMME OF THE CHURCHES

With this statement of its position regarding modern industrial conditions the Council proceeds to make a number of recommendations to its constituent churches. It recommends that the churches recognize more fully through pulpit, press, and public assembly the present process of social

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reconstruction, the character of the labor movement, and the obligation of the Church to supply spiritual motives and standards for these movements; that the study of social conditions and the social teachings of Jesus be promoted in all theological seminaries, and in classes and reading courses; that the churches establish closer relations with workingmen; that denominational authorities gather information particularly regarding the meaning of trade unionism; and that especially all church members be urged to serve Christ by acting in his spirit "as mediators between opposing forces in our modern world of work;" that "the church in general not only aim to socialize its message," but also to adapt its equipment—buildings, councils, assemblies, financial management—to more democratic administration; particularly that "the workers and the poor, vastly in the majority in the United States, may ever find the church as homelike as the union hall," and more congenial and wholesome than the saloon, the political club, or any other organization; that the Church emphasize its relation to great movements, and make clear to the workingmen that upon the Church depends the maintenance of the weekly day of rest, the great streams of philanthropy, the rights of men underlying Christian civilization, and the like. As a final and practical method the Council recommends to its Executive Committee the organization of a Commission on The Church and Social Service, representative of the Council's constituent bodies and of the various industrial interests, to ascertain the essential facts of social conditions, and to act, under the restrictions of the Executive Committee, as a means of developing the spirit of social service in the churches, and a more natural relation between workingmen and the Church. The resolutions close with that passage which Christ quoted from Isaiah as descriptive of his own mission:

> The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

"May the Church," conclude the resolutions, "dare to say to the multitudes, 'This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.'" These resolutions were passed unanimously on Friday, without even the offer of an amendment. The following Sunday, December 6, there was held in the Lyric Theater, Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Council, a great meeting at which some thirty trades unions were officially represented by hundreds of workingmen, and over which presided Mr. Dennis Hayes, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States, a Roman Catholic. To Dr. F. M. North, who drew and presented the resolution, and to the Rev. Charles Stelzle, who retains his trade union membership as a mechanic, great credit is due for initiating and guiding this momentous procedure; but credit no less is due to the whole body of delegates for their statesmanlike seizure of this opportunity, the very first that has been offered, to express with dignity and courage the Church's sense of its own shortcomings, but also its great ideals and clear determination in relation to the application of the religion of Christ to the social life of to-day. The Outlook wishes that the resolutions of this Council might be put into the hands and stored in the mind of every minister in the land. It is certain that the churches have drawn a line behind which they can never afford to retreat and up to which every church may feel itself summoned. If any man hereafter doubts whether the churches of America really understand their duties and responsibilities toward the grim problems of to-day, he will have no excuse for his doubt if he reads these resolutions.

LAYMEN AND THE CHURCH SERVICE

The Thanksgiving Day service of the Beneficent Congregational Church of Providence, Rhode Island, was an example, useful and interesting we should think, to churches of various denominations throughout the country, of the way in which laymen can successfully be called upon to take part in the formal services of the church. And it is a way entirely conformable with the

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dignity of both ritual and tradition. The Beneficent Church of Providence is, if not the very oldest, at least one of the oldest church organizations of that city. It was established in colonial days, a hundred and sixty-five years ago, and represents in its history the finest flower of New England traditional orthodoxy. No ritualistic Episcopalian or Roman Catholic could guard the chancel from invasion more jealously than the colonial Congregational clergyman guarded his pulpit from secular contamination. On Thanksgiving Day, however, the service in the Beneficent Church was conducted by laymen. Ex-Lieutenant-Governor Jackson, of the Central Congregational Church of the same city, read the Scripture lessons, and Dr. Franklin S. Jewett, a well-known physician, of the Union Congregational Church, offered "the long prayer." The sermon was preached by the Hon. Rathbone Gardner, one of the prominent lawyers and financiers of the city, now president of an important banking institution. Mr. Gardner is a member of Grace Church, Episcopal, of Providence. His sermon, or address, was a strong, frank, and human argument that "the Church must appeal to the social conscience as well as to the individual, that she must apply the law of Christ to society as well as to persons." We quote a few sentences which will give some idea of the admirable tone of this address:

A man is to be judged by his conduct as the manager of a business, or as the director of a corporation, as rigorously as in his family relations or as to his personal habits.

The Christian has quite as much occasion to offer a silent prayer at a directors' meeting as to join with his associates in invoking divine guidance at the session of a vestry.

A wise use of wealth gained by wrongdoing, by unfair competition, by oppression of any sort, cannot in the slightest degree palliate the guilt of its possessor.

Stewardship is the first use of wealth. . . . Wealth may be acquired to day, and, in the majority of cases, is still acquired, with a fair regard for the rights of others. But the mere ownership of money charges those who have it with a terrible responsibility.

The owner of a department store whose women workers stand ten hours of a day, the owner of a mill who tolerates unguarded machinery or flying shuttles, the manager of a railroad unequipped with safety devices, or whose employees work thirty hours at a stretch, are not good stewards, and should be made to understand it.

But theirs is not the only responsibility. . . . Ours is the responsibility. The welfare of thousands of workingmen, women, and children, is dependent to-day upon statute law, enacted or proposed. If we, the rulers of the land under a republican form of government, know nothing and care nothing about these statutes except as action upon them may affect the success of our party, we, of all persons, are most faithless to the principle of Christian stewardship.

The Church must be willing to adopt new methods where they are demanded to meet new needs. Protestant worship has taken on—or perhaps it would be fairer to say, retained—an attitude of formalism which is little suited to the times. . . . I am convinced that the mass of our population cannot be reached by merely the services which are held in our Protestant churches. We must reach out to them. I do not pretend to point the exact way. I have been told that on the continent of Europe for many years, and in England recently, the Roman Catholic clergy have conducted retreats for workingmen. Forty or fifty men stay at some house in the country from Thursday to Monday, listen to religious instruction, and take part in religious discussion bearing upon their peculiar problems. They enjoy it, and go back better workmen and better men. The effect is such that their employers willingly continue their wages during their absence, and of late employers also go.

When the Church gives a layman, successful in politics and in large business affairs, an opportunity to preach this commendable doctrine to his fellow-laymen, it is efficiently following the wise advice "to adopt new methods where they are demanded to meet new needs."

ST. JOHN'S

On Varick Street, in one of the lower wards of New York City, stands St. John's Church, of Trinity Parish. It is one of the old architectural monuments in a city where old landmarks of all kinds, and particularly those of restful beauty, are rare and, unhappily, becoming rarer. Once upon a time there was opposite this example of Christopher Wren architecture a delightful little park; but that has long since been extinguished by a great and ugly freight terminal. Now it seems that this church is in danger of going the way of many other

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relics of the past in this great industrial center. For reasons that satisfy the authorities of Trinity Parish, the money which can be obtained by the sale of the land on which this church stands is to be applied to other portions of the great parish of which this church is but a small part. The menace to this church would not bring so great sorrow were it not for the fact that the church is more than a landmark; it is a great opportunity. Although the ward in which the church stands has felt the encroachments of business, the neighboring ward, on the edge of which this church stands, is peopled with thousands of English-speaking, American-born families. It is true that a mile to the northward there is another church of this same parish, but it is bleak and unattractive and it cannot begin to serve all those who are within the range of the ministrations of both churches. Moreover, within the past year the congregations at St. John's have doubled, and those who have labored in it have felt a justification of their hopes of its great usefulness in that region. Possibly those who are in authority have not realized all that this church means to the dwellers in its neighborhood, or all that it means as a historic monument to the people of New York. We hope the officers of Trinity Parish may be able to find a way, in spite of well-recognized difficulties, to preserve historic St. John's both as a place of worship and as a municipal monument.

THE CONGO: AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

Leopold II, King of the Belgians and King-Sovereign of the Congo Independent State, has shared with Abdul Hamid II, Sultan of Turkey, the distinction of being the most notoriously cruel of modern rulers. Almost simultaneously with the loss of power by the Sultan, who is now behind the bars of a constitutional government, has come the formal abandonment of sovereignty over the Congo by Leopold. He has accepted the Belgian-Congo treaty by which the Belgian Parliament has assumed control of the Congo Independent State. It is a satisfaction to record that the astute royal promoter of African resources has at last recognized the impossibility of being longer heedless of the indignation with which the civilized world has heard of his oppressive misgovernment. The Powers, however, may yet have a word to say concerning his right to transfer his trusteeship to others, for it is the Powers that made him trustee. They have also a right to examine the terms of the transfer and decide whether they are satisfactory. Indeed, the British Government, in a note to Belgium made public last week, has expressed "its claim to receive such information as will satisfy it that in the measures which are to follow the transfer to another Power of vast territories of the Independent State, full weight will be given to the representations which it has made. . . ." The British Government has, moreover, had the frankness to say that "the manner in which the Independent State has hitherto been governed has been notoriously different from that obtaining in neighboring territories, and has for many years past caused great anxiety to His Majesty's Government," as bearing on the possible injury to kindred tribes in British territory; and adds that it considers itself "amply justified in taking every precaution to secure that the new administration shall not repeat the fatal errors of the old, and in requiring a specific undertaking that the grievances of which it has so often complained shall be remedied within a reasonable period." Great Britain makes it clear, furthermore, that it cannot recognize the transfer of the Congo to Belgium until it receives assurances that the questions as to the rights of the natives will be settled in a manner satisfactory both to the Government and to British public opinion. The people of England and the United States, not to mention other nations, will not be satisfied with any arrangement that does not guarantee an end to the system of land appropriation and forced labor by which the natives have been compelled to pile up wealth for their European taskmasters. Because Belgium is a Roman Catholic country and Leopold a Roman Catholic sovereign, apologists for the Congo Government have attempted to discredit the critics of that

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Government by declaring that criticism has had its origin in religious prejudice. In view of the indictment brought against that Government by the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the King himself, this attempt on the part of Leopold's apologists is hardly to be taken seriously. If, however, anything further is needed to make it clear that the Congo agitation is purely in the interest of humanity, it is supplied by such statements as the following from Roman Catholic sources. The Catholic Mirror, of Baltimore, declares that:

> A recognition of the right of the natives to refuse to work for the Belgian exploiters would destroy at once the foundations of the enormous structure of profit which has been built up in the Congo during the past dozen years, and it is wholly unlikely that the Belgian administration will spare any efforts to maintain the highly lucrative *status quo*.

And the Catholic World Magazine, which has no superior as a Roman Catholic magazine in the United States, says, in its issue for October, concerning the Congo State:

> Started as a philanthropic attempt, under the auspices of the chief Powers, it soon eventuated into a sordid oppression. It will have served one good purpose if it affords yet another demonstration of the impotence for good of autocratic methods of government.

And to this it adds, in its November issue:

> The Congo State, it is argued, was the artificial creation of the Acts of Berlin and Brussels; the stipulations of these Acts have been systematically violated under King Leopold's personal rule. Belgium must give security that such violations will not take place in the future.

The Powers, it may be assumed, have refrained from interference while the negotiations between the Belgian Parliament and the King have been pending. Now that those negotiations have been completed, it is right that the Powers should require from Belgium guarantees that the trust will not be violated.

SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

An American-Scandinavian Society has just been formed in New York City. Its object is to bring the cultural relations of America and Scandinavia into closer union. Its members come from many States, especially from the great Northwest, where most of the Scandinavians in America live. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, was elected President, and Professor Carl Lorentzen, of New York University, Secretary of the new Society. Professor Lorentzen is the originator of the movement as far as America and Denmark are concerned, and he raised the necessary funds last spring. The Danes of New York City, followed by the Danes of Chicago, arranged that the presidents of the two universities in the metropolis should go to Copenhagen and tell the Danes there about the civilization of this country. Chancellor MacCracken, of New York University, lectured at the University of Copenhagen last spring and Dr. Butler last autumn. Such unexpected interest was shown that the authorities of the Universities of Christiania in Norway and of Lund in Sweden asked for American lecturers at those seats of learning. At the recent meeting in New York City, at which the constitution of the new society was adopted, Dr. MacCracken aroused enthusiasm by a picturesque description of his reception at the universities and also of his reception by the Scandinavian sovereigns. The enthusiasm was continued during the address of the principal guest of the occasion, Professor Montelius, of the University of Stockholm, or, to give him his more distinctive title, "The Royal Antiquary of Sweden." The learned archæologist spoke in the perfect English which his compatriots seem easily to acquire, and made a deep impression by showing that the number of Swedes, and especially of Norwegians, in this country is larger in proportion than that from any other countries. Hence the racial bond of union between Scandinavia and America is particularly strong; and the cultural bond, the speaker said, should be equally strong. This can best be accomplished by an interchange of professors between American and Scandinavian universities, and by the advantages to be given to students for their own interchange.

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FINLAND AND AMERICA

When the formation of an American - Scandinavian Association was first proposed, no thought had been given to the inclusion of Finland. At The Outlook's suggestion this inclusion was quickly and gladly made. Finland has two titles to such recognition. In the first place, it possesses an ancient and influential seat of learning in the University of Helsingfors, which last week accepted the American-Scandinavian Society's proposal for an interchange of professors. The University has appointed Mr. Montague Donner, the well-known Finnish poet and philologist, a resident of New York City, to take charge of the arrangements. It is hoped that the University will appoint for the American lectureship its Professor of International Law, Baron Sergei Korff, and that an equally interesting man may go from America to Finland. Baron Korff speaks English fluently. He has visited America repeatedly and is in full sympathy with our institutions. America already has a representative at Helsingfors, for Baroness Korff is the daughter of Admiral Van Reypen, U. S. N. Secondly, Finland has a special title to recognition because, though racially, religiously, and socially still profoundly Scandinavian, Finland is a Russian autonomous province. Thus it stands in a peculiarly advantageous position to be the medium, by an interchange of professors and students, of mutual educational and social relations not only between America and Finland but between America and Russia. The educational experiment between Finland and America should lead to a better understanding in every way between Russia and America, to the indubitable profit of both countries. Indeed, progressive Russians are already asking if they may not be admitted at least to a corresponding membership in the American-Scandinavian Society.

THE HUDSON-FULTON CELEBRATION

The public has lately been apprised of the progress that has been made by the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission, appointed by the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the City of New York, in its preparation for the commemoration, next year, of the three hundredth anniversary of the exploration of the Hudson River by Henry Hudson in 1609, and the one hundredth anniversary of the first successful application of steam to navigation on the river by Robert Fulton in 1807. The celebration of the latter has been deferred two years in order that the two events, so closely linked together in the State's history, might be commemorated jointly. The celebration will begin on Saturday, September 25, 1909, and the first portion will last for eight days. It is expected that foreign nations will be invited to send naval vessels and official representatives to participate. The people of Holland, under royal patronage, are building a replica of Hudson's little ship the "Halve Maen," and will send it over equipped and manned by a crew in the costumes of the period. The Federal Government is to be asked to send its Atlantic Squadron and the available troops from the Department of the East to take part in the great naval and military parades. The people of New Jersey, through their Boards of Trade and official representatives, will join in celebrating events which have affected them in common with their neighbors across the river. Throughout New York State commemorative exercises will be conducted by all the universities, colleges, schools, and learned societies. Naturally, the Hudson Valley will be the theater of greatest activity. Two complementary naval parades, one starting from the foot and one from the head of the river, will meet in Newburgh Bay. The lower Hudson division will take with it the facsimile of the "Halve Maen." It will also take with it a replica of Fulton's first successful steamboat, the Clermont, which is being built by the Maritime Association of New York, after plans prepared by the Commission. These duplicate vessels will be transferred to the North Hudson division in Newburgh Bay with signal formalities, and the next day will be conducted to the head of the river. As the quaint little three-masted "yacht" passes the monster shipping of New York Bay, and the diminutive Clermont passes the docks of our modern seven-hundred-foot

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ocean greyhounds, and as they continue up the river, not through the primitive wilderness which Hudson penetrated, but between populous and thriving cities and towns, the dwellers on the river banks will turn out and accord them distinguished honors, and will hold local celebrations of various sorts. In New York City there will be official literary exercises in the Metropolitan Opera-House, Carnegie Hall, the Great Hall of the City College, and the Brooklyn Academy of Music; an official banquet to the guests of honor; a music festival; a military parade and a carnival parade; the dedication of tablets, monuments, and other permanent memorials—including, it is hoped, one or more great public parks; aquatic sports, participated in by the crews from the men-of-war; outdoor festivals by the children; free public lectures; and several great art and historical exhibitions. The first eight days' celebration will conclude on Saturday night, October 2, with the illumination of the fleets and buildings in New York and Albany, and the burning of signal fires on the mountain-tops and other eligible points along the whole Hudson Valley. Then will follow an "Old Home Week," during which the principal communities along the Hudson will hold further local celebrations. That such a celebration should be given an international, national, and inter-State as well as State and local scope, shows that the Commission has grasped the significance of these two cardinal events in American history—one of which made known to the world the great harbor and stream to which, more than any other natural factor, the Empire State and the Metropolis of the New World owe their supremacy; and the other of which has enhanced beyond measure the value of all the navigable waters of the world.

PLANS FOR A PERMANENT MEMORIAL

It has been urged upon the Commissioners that the preservation of the natural scenery of our river would be the most becoming memorial to the venturesome navigator Hudson, and at the same time a public benefaction; that the protection of the Highland section of the river would enlist the interest of the Nation as a rare and exceptionally appropriate testimonial, and allay the National concern for the safety of a region so full of romantic beauty which is a heritage now of over eighty millions of people. This occasion should not be lost to rescue the banks of the Hudson from further defacement and save the good repute of New York State as the sole custodian of these attractive gifts of nature which are a source of delight to millions. The only permanent testimonial in the original plans of the Commissioners, for the State of New York, was a park at Verplanck's Point. This has now been abandoned to the local interests of Westchester County, and the Commissioners have appointed a Committee with Judge Alton B. Parker as Chairman, and the following members, John Bigelow, Henry E. Gregory, George W. Perkins, Herbert L. Satterlee, Charles F. Roe, J. Du Pratt White, and Samuel Parsons, to secure the necessary legislation to prevent further defacement, and ultimately place the protection of the Hudson Valley under the care of a permanent Henry Hudson Memorial Commission. With the protection of the natural monuments of the river in commemoration of its first navigator, whose name the river so appropriately bears, the State of New York will have honored itself and proved worthy of the trust which the accident of State lines has placed upon it. Adequate recognition has also been provided for the city of New York in the plans of the Commissioners in a Memorial Bridge over the Harlem River, with an entrance park at Inwood connecting the upper and lower sections of the city.

THE MILTON CELEBRATION

The newspapers, which present elaborate reports of scandals, races, and local happenings of every kind, did not give much prominence to the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of Milton's birth in various parts of the country on Wednesday of last week; but the widespread interest in the occasion, the impressiveness of the exercises, and the large audiences which everywhere assem-

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bled, registered in a striking way the interest of Americans in the higher aspects of life and the finer works of art. The Massachusetts Historical Society, one of the foremost organizations of its kind in the country, listened to addresses by Mr. Charles Francis Adams and Mr. William Everett; while Mr. Bliss Perry read selections from Milton, and Wordsworth's great sonnet. The Hymn to the Nativity, choruses from "Samson," and several of Milton's paraphrases of psalms were sung. In New York City there was a notable commemoration, under the direction of the Rev. Percy S. Grant, in the Church of the Ascension. The great choir, variously and brilliantly vested, the Russian and Greek priests in attendance, and the vast congregation which crowded the church made the occasion impressive, aside from the music, which was beautifully rendered, and from the addresses, which were brief and to the point. Milton's metrical version of the Eighty-first Psalm was followed by collects read by Bishop Greer. Later in the programme a group of Milton's songs were sung with unusual beauty and effectiveness. Addresses were delivered by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, by Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, and by Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie. Mr. Ben Greet read selections from the poet's works, and Mr. Henry E. Howland a letter from Ambassador Bryce characterizing Milton as the most powerful exponent of English Puritan ideas of the seventeenth century. Mr. Grant preached a brief sermon. Columbia University observed the day by appropriate exercises in Earl Hall in the evening. Mr. George L. Rives, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Professor William P. Trent were the speakers of the occasion; while Mr. Gilder read the following sonnet:

"Voice archangelical, supreme, sublime;
Most dedicate and rapt of all the quire
Of singers since humanity and time
Were fashioned from the sempiternal fire!
None of the laureled race with thee hath name
Save him, the bard austere and benedight
Who, like thee, traversed the infernal flame
And dared the dread and Everlasting Light.
Milton! the reverberant centuries but bring
Thy presence nearer; thou dost mightier loom
Even as thy day recedes; yea, thou dost sing
With accent more divine, sounding the doom
Of base, infectious, and unholy thought,
While upward climbs the world by one high spirit taught."

President Butler brought the ceremonies to a close by reading the concluding paragraphs of Macaulay's essay on Milton.

THE NEW YORK INDEPENDENT

The New York Independent celebrates its sixtieth anniversary by the publication of a very interesting and attractive issue, with portraits of its long list of distinguished editors, and of many of the men and women of eminence who have been at various times connected with it. Dr. William Hayes Ward, the present editor-in-chief and a member of the staff for the last forty years, reviews the story of the establishment and conduct of the Independent during six of the most momentous decades in the history of the country and of religion, philosophy, and science. Founded originally as a Congregational journal, with strong leaning toward Liberalism, and a leader of the anti-slavery movement rapidly gaining force in the North, it had among its editors in the early days Drs. Leonard Bacon, Joseph P. Thompson, Richard Salter Storrs, Joshua Leavitt, Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Tilton, Edward Eggleston, Wendell Phillips Garrison, and Justin McCarthy. With its later history Dr. Washington Gladden, Professor Charles F. Richardson, Dr. C. H. Toy, Dr. Kinsley Twining, Mr. Maurice Thompson, Mr. Paul Elmer More, and Dr. John Eliot Bowen have been associated. Dr. Ward, the editor-in-chief, is a scholar of unusual breadth and accuracy of knowledge, and an incisive editorial writer; Mr. Hamilton Holt, a young man of achievement and promise, is the managing editor; while other departments are in the hands of Dr. E. E. Slosson, Frank D. Root, and William G. Bowdoin. During Mr. Beecher's editorship the Independent ceased to be a Congregational journal and became, and ever since has remained, undenomina-

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tional. It has taken a leading part in many ethical and political movements of the last two generations. It has always had the co-operation of many of the first writers in this country and in England; and has been and still is notable, not only for general ability, but for scholarly authority in all matters relating to archæology, history, science, and other important interests.

AN AMERICAN SALON

Last week at Washington a notable exhibition of painting and sculpture was placed in the Corcoran Gallery. At the official opening the President of the United States was among the first to arrive, and after making the rounds of the entire exhibition the many artists present were introduced to him in the Directors' private office and received his congratulations. This is the custom of the President of France at the opening of the Paris Salon. Heretofore American art has loomed less large in America than has French art in France, and our artists have received no such official recognition. The canvases shown at Washington represent singularly well the various branches of American painting. From these pictures we are glad to learn that the Directors of the galleries have made a number of purchases for its permanent exhibition, the painters thus honored being Messrs. Tarbell, Kendall, Reid, Scofield, and MacEwen. The exhibition's more remarkable feature, however, and one to attract visitors from every part of America, is the memorial exhibit of the works of the late Augustus Saint-Gaudens, somewhat similar to the memorial exhibit recently held in New York City. The arrangement of this particular exhibit deserves mention. In order to have the most favorable light and background, curtains of a soft white material were hung behind the columns in the atrium inclosing the great hall, and in front of these tall cedars were placed. This simple and severe architectural setting well served its purpose. The majority of the works shown were of course in plaster. The exhibit represents well-nigh the sculptor's entire output—from the tiny cameos characteristic of his early years, and the coins characteristic of his later career, designed for the Government, to the cast of the porch of the Albright Gallery at Buffalo, upheld by its magnificent caryatides; from the medallion heads such as that of John S. Sargent and the portraits in relief, such as those of Robert Louis Stevenson and Asa Gray, and the portrait-busts, such as those of William M. Evarts, John Hay, and David Jayne Hill, to the plaster cast studies for the Shaw Memorial, to the enigmatical Adams Memorial, to the two statues of Lincoln, and, above all, to the splendid "Victory" which precedes Sherman in the well-known statue in New York. One is reminded of another Victory, a headless one, similarly placed on the staircase of the Louvre in Paris. No one can see this exhibit without hoping that from it the Government will procure whatever can be procured by recastings, and thus secure at the National capital a group representative of our greatest sculptor, a standard for all time for those who come after.

THE CHRISTMAS FIRE

In this latitude Christmas Eve often falls on a still, cold night that heightens the cheer of the open fire. The hearth is the very heart of the house; other things may be beautiful in themselves and in the memories they keep fresh; but the hearth radiates motion, color, warmth. The life of forgotten summers, distilled into fiber and sap and stored up in cells that open with petulant protests and send tiny streamers of color into the genial blaze, gives its last residuum of vitality as an offering of the friendliness of Nature to man. They are ungrateful who talk about the enmity of Nature; as if friendship were merely being agreeable, and not always at heart the loyalty of truth-telling. If Emerson was right in saying that our friends are those who make us do what we can, Nature is the most faithful and constant friend that man has found on his mysterious journey. When the fire sings its song of summer on the wintry hearth, he must be dull who does not hear the friendly note that runs through it.

But, like all friends who serve us with

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their integrity as well as warm us with their love, Nature seems at times remote and unkind. On Christmas Eve there is often a touch of bitterness in the air; a sting that seems to mock the season's memories and hopes. The stars, Orion flaming in their midst like an "archangel full-panoplied against a battle day," sparkle with a chilling radiance. When one recalls the soft Syrian air under such a sky, splendidly isolated and remote, the sharp touch of winter is like a keen-edged mood of doubt with magical cunning building crystals of exquisite design out of inanimate substances, but blighting everything that grows. Beyond the seas, on such a Christmas Eve, the stars hang low and burn with soft and kindly radiance; here they shine across immeasurable gulfs of space and seem as indifferent to the little lights of intelligence with which men find their way in the world as is the sun to the glow-worm, faintly luminous for a moment and then swallowed up in blackness. In the Syrian night flocks are on the hillsides and shepherds keeping watch over them; here the living creature that is not sheltered perishes. There night broods over the fields like a bountiful mother; here one has the sense of a great absence rather than a great presence. The night is not haunted by malignant powers; it is cold, impersonal, inexorable; freighted with the majesty and loneliness of fate, and exhaling a remoteness and vastness too great to be concerned with the little fortunes of men. Is it the stillness of a dead faith or the silence that comes with expectation, the quiet that falls when a great advent is at hand?

It is a great fallacy, however, to attempt to interpret Nature apart from man, to read her mind without his mind, and her heart without his heart. He holds the key of her mystery in the very structure of his being; in his intelligence lies the vision of her sublime unity and order. He is as much a part of her as star or mountain, and he rises as far above her as the thought which fashions rises above the thing it makes, or the genius that divines above the substance it penetrates and comprehends. The law of survival cannot be understood without taking into account his power of sacrifice, nor can the direction of the vast movement of things be comprehended without the light of his power of love. The story of his life is as much a part of the history of the earth as the forming of continents and the filling of the basins of the seas. Every human affection, devotion, and sacrifice must be reckoned with in any attempt to understand Nature; and the glow of the fire on the hearth on Christmas Eve is as bright with revelation of the mystery of things as the radiance of stars. Syria was but the background of the wonder story of the Birth, and the majesty of the star but a symbol of the immortal light in the soul of the Child of Bethlehem.

NEARING A SOLUTION

The addresses given last week before the North Carolina Society of New York City by Walter H. Page, a recognized representative of the liberal and progressive South, and by President-elect William H. Taft, whose election is gladly welcomed by many in the South who did not vote for him, give evidence that the Nation is nearing a solution of its sectional and race problems. Mr. Page's address we print in full in this issue. Mr. Taft's address, which has been very fully reported in the daily press, took up the theme where Mr. Page left off. The indorsement of the principles enunciated by both speakers was emphasized by the applause with which their addresses were punctuated by an audience almost wholly Southern.

Mr. Taft's speech may be epitomized as follows:

We are one people, made so by our blood, our social fellowships, our commercial interests, our united destiny, our National questions. Why, then, a Solid South, separating itself from the North and West? In answering this question it is idle to look back; to discuss the measure of responsibility of the sections for slavery, or the Civil War, or the Reconstruction period. It is the present and the future alone with which we have to do. To expatriate the negro would be unjust to him and disastrous to the

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South, which needs his labor. To repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, which secures him equal rights, is not to be thought of; no party that proposed such repeal could hope for indorsement by the Nation. The fear of social equality is a causeless fear; "social equality is something that grows out of voluntary concessions by the individuals forming society." The attitude of the Republican party toward the South is not one of hostility, criticism, or opposition. It recognizes the right of the South to obtain and maintain what it regards as its political safety from the domination of an ignorant electorate. Its Constitutional right to do this is unquestionable. All that can be justly demanded of it is that, in the framing and enforcing of the laws, they be made applicable alike to both races. North and South are both coming to recognize the truth that the hope of the negro race lies in education, and the North recognizes the truth that the responsibility for furnishing this education must necessarily fall largely on the Southern people. The best friend that the Southern negro can have is the Southern white man, and the growing interest which the Southern white man is taking in the development of the negro is one of the most encouraging reasons for believing that the problem is capable of solution. The greatest need is industrial education; "the hope of the Southern negro is in teaching him how to be a good farmer, how to be a good mechanic, how to make his home attractive, and how to live more comfortably and according to the rules of health and morality." But this industrial education is not his only need.

Primary and industrial education for the masses, higher education for the leaders of the negro race, for their professional men, their clergymen, their physicians, their lawyers, and their teachers, will make up a system under which their improvement, which statistics show to have been most noteworthy in the last forty years, will continue at the same rate. On the whole, then, the best public opinion of the North and the best public opinion of the South seem to be coming together in respect to all the economic and political questions growing out of present race conditions.

That the best public opinion of the North and of the South are thus coming together The Outlook heartily believes. The occasional manifestations of race prejudice in the South and doctrinairism in the North may delay but cannot prevent this coming together. The basic principles of such union include the following:

Each State has a Constitutional right to determine the conditions of suffrage within the State, provided it does not condition the suffrage upon race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

He who cannot govern himself cannot justly demand the right to help govern others. Therefore to require as a condition of participation in government a moderate educational and a moderate property qualification, the one as an evidence of intelligence, the other as an evidence of thrift, is not unjust nor undemocratic, provided these conditions are equally and honestly interpreted and applied.

The recent amendments to the Southern Constitutions require nothing more than this, and require them equally of white and black. If they are not equally enforced, the remedy is not condemnation of the provisions but justice in their enforcement.

The greatest need of the greatest number in America to-day everywhere is for primary and industrial education. Nowhere is this need more apparent than in the negro populations.

But the amalgamation of the negro and the white races is a thought not to be entertained. And if the two races are to live side by side as separate races, each must have its educated leaders. There must therefore be provided in reasonable measure a higher education for the negro race, that it may have educated lawyers, doctors, teachers, and ministers.

The burden of this education falls heaviest on the South. But justice, patriotism, and philanthropy unite to demand that it be shared by the North. The fact that the best men of the South are making their best endeavor to promote educational opportunities for the negro does not relieve the North of its responsibility. On the contrary, it should stimulate generosity in the North to a cordial co-operation in that endeavor.

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THE NAVY AND REAL PATRIOTISM

There are patriotic citizens who want the United States to possess a large and powerful navy; there are other patriotic citizens who think we should maintain a small and inexpensive one; but if there is any American citizen, imperialistic or anti-imperialistic, who wants a large and expensive navy that is clumsily managed and inefficient in war, he has never made his idea public. Critics whose position and knowledge entitle their words to respectful consideration say that the efficiency of the United States Navy to-day is far from being proportionate to its great cost, and that some definite reforms are immediately needed in its business and military administration. These criticisms do not reflect in any way upon the personnel of the navy or upon the courage, loyalty, and ability of officers and men. The critics do say, however, that too often the officers and men are not furnished with the proper ships, the proper weapons, and the proper instruments for their work, and that the Navy Department at Washington, because of antiquated business methods, spends the vast appropriations intrusted to it too often wastefully if not uselessly. Those of our readers who, with The Outlook, are proud of the history of the United States Navy, of the character of its officers and men, and of its achievements not merely as a defense in time of war, but as a constructive and civilizing agent in time of peace, will find the criticisms to which we have briefly referred set forth in a calm but impressive way by Mr. Henry Reuterdahl in Pearson's Magazine for December.

Americans are very fond of referring with a kind of superior pity to the bureaucratic form of government of Russia. "Bureaucracy" is regarded by the American as a synonym for inefficient and unjust political administration. The comic adventures of Admiral Rojestvensky's fleet in the North Sea and its tragic end in the Sea of Japan are ascribed to the evils of bureaucracy. The administration of the United States Navy to-day rests pretty nearly absolutely in a bureaucracy. There are eight bureaus in the Navy Department, and the head of each bureau is practically, if not legally, independent of all other authority. The result is that we have in effect nine Secretaries of the Navy. That we have been able, with this division and confusion of authority, and with the interminable red tape that springs from it, to build and equip as good a navy as we have is astonishing. Moreover, these bureaus, with one exception, are all manufacturing bureaus; the Board of Construction is at present composed of three bureau chiefs, the Naval Constructor, and a retired Admiral; it is thus manifest that the seagoing officers who operate the ships have almost no influence in the building of ships or their equipment. What would be thought of a railway whose general manager and board of directors decided questions of engineering, construction, and operation by consulting the office staff instead of the engineering and operating staff?

In view of this situation, The Outlook believes that immediate legislation is needed to accomplish the necessary reorganization of the Navy, although in this respect it differs from the opinion of Mr. Newberry, the new Secretary of the Navy. The principles which this legislation ought to follow have been admirably stated by Mr. W. D. Walker, the editor of Army and Navy Life, in the following brief programme, which has the approval of practically the whole body of the younger seagoing officers:

1. Entire responsibility should be lodged in one man, the civilian Secretary of the Navy. Under the existing law "the orders of a Chief of Bureau shall be considered as emanating from the Secretary of the Navy and shall have full force and effect as such." There are eight bureaus, resulting in a division of responsibility among nine men.

2. In order to equip the civilian Secretary for the wise and able discharge of his duties there should be created by statutory enactment a General Staff appointed from the line (that is, from the military officers of the navy) for the purpose of assisting, advising, initiating, and co-ordinating the business of the Navy Department. This Board to have no authority; its function being simply to advise the Secretary and to co-ordinate the work. Undivided responsibility must rest with the Secretary.

3. The heads of Bureaus should have no duties other than the administration of their respective departments, which is ample to

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keep them fully occupied and which to-day precludes them from giving wise general counsel.

These suggestions are in harmony with the recommendations of the President in his recent Message. On this subject Mr. Roosevelt speaks with the authority of actual experience, for he was, in the period just preceding the Spanish War, one of the most efficient and businesslike Naval Secretaries the country has ever had. The plan outlined above would introduce into the administration of the Naval Department the simple provisions of business organization which prevail in the commerce and industry of the country.

Two forces in Congress oppose this simple programme of reform: those Congressmen who are reluctant to give up any rights and privileges, and those Congressmen who from sinister motives want a hand, or even two hands if possible, in the disbursement of public moneys. At present Congress has the right to decide on the type and size of battleships. Of course it is absurd that a Congressional Committee should pass upon these technical questions, but the right exists. If a General Staff were created, Congress could not disregard its advice as to appropriations and disbursements; and the power of money, to some extent the corrupt use of money power, would thus be limited in Congressional action. If the General Staff plan is permanently defeated, it will be defeated by bureaucrats who love sinecures, legislators who love official pomp, and politicians who love "rake-offs" better than they love their country.

Congress rightfully should determine the amount of money to be spent by the Navy Department, but it should leave the details of that expenditure to the Secretary of the Navy, advised by his General Staff, and subject to the proper accounting to Congress. It was some time ago reported that President Roosevelt proposed to appoint a commission headed by Secretary Root, who has done so much for the reorganization of the War Department, which should present recommendations to Congress for naval reform legislation. We hope Mr. Roosevelt has not abandoned this plan.

AS OTHERS SEE US

Americans are not thin-skinned as they used to be, and no longer scream with pain when they are criticised by foreign observers, or Mr. John Graham Brooks's summing up of foreign criticism and comment from the earliest to the latest time would jeopardize his popularity, if not his personal safety. And yet no book that has recently appeared is more interesting or suggestive than "As Others See Us" (Macmillan); a delightful footnote to history which collects and places in order the judgments of those who have crossed the sea to try to understand us, and of those who have crossed for the purpose of disliking or condemning us. Mr. Brooks calls his book, in a subtitle, "A Study of Progress in the United States." It is a record of progress in two senses: it registers a great advance in manners, culture, refinement, dignity, and strength in this country; and it registers an equally marked advance in open-mindedness, intelligence, and fair play in our friends from abroad. Most patriotic Americans can read with amusement the story which Mr. Brooks tells, and also with the clear consciousness that many of the sharpest criticisms made on us were thoroughly deserved. He can do this with greater satisfaction because the bumptious period is largely passed. We have ceased in considerable measure to be the swaggerer among nations. "Uncle Sam" is no longer a grotesque braggart, challenging the Old World to show a country like ours, or a race of men so gifted with all the great qualities. There were serious embarrassments in the old situation. It was not easy, for instance, to describe America as the paradise of equality while about four million men and women were held in slavery; but these were incidents which Uncle Sam brushed aside with a careless hand, while he continued to instruct Europe in the essential superiority of everything American.

In those good old days of flamboyant oratory, when the sky was red with the greatness of our past and the glory of our present, an imaginative American bounded the United States by the aurora borealis on the north, the Milky

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Way on the east, the precession of the equinoxes on the south, and the Day of Judgment on the west. It is really the day of judgment that has arrested our exuberant rhetoric. We have come face to face with such serious conditions and such perplexing problems that we are much more concerned with doing our work than with blowing the trumpets of fame. Facing our record of political mismanagement and jobbery, the saturation of our politics with business and of our business with politics, the race problem, the immigration question, the perplexities of the industrial situation, has made us sober-minded. We have been brought to judgment—not the judgment of foreign countries, but of our own consciousness. We have measured our achievements against our opportunities, and it has dawned upon us that possibly we are not quite so great as we thought we were. Mr. Brooks gives many amusing illustrations of the bragging which formerly was regarded as a patriotic duty. In the old days we never took the trouble to make our announcements of superiority agree with the facts. We scorned the facts. Mr. Brooks quotes one observer as saying: "Others claim respect and honor because of the things done by a long line of ancestors; an American glories in the achievements of a distant posterity. If an English traveler complains of their inns, and hints at his dislike to sleeping four in a bed, he is first denounced as a calumniator, and then told to wait a hundred years and see the superiority of American inns to British."

Two generations ago, in a well-known school-book, the children were informed that: "Knowing that Asia is sunk in ignorance and gross superstition, the young reader will at once discover the cause of our moral superiority over the dull Asiatics, as well as the great mass of more enlightened neighbors of the European part of the Eastern continent. It need scarcely be repeated that it is owing to the influence of the press shedding its rays of knowledge over the minds of a free people." It is not in the mouths of writers of text-books, however, that great swelling words attain their most magnificent dimensions. Here is a choice morsel from the President of the United States, Martin Van Buren:

> It was the boast and the pride and the security of the American nation that she had in her bosom a body of men who, for sobriety, integrity, industry, and patriotism were unequaled by the cultivators of the earth in any part of the known world; nay, more—*to compare* them with men of similar pursuits in other countries was to degrade them!

To which may be fitly added a few words from Mr. Edward Everett in a Fourth of July oration: "Our government is in its theory perfect, and in its operation it is perfect also. Thus we have solved the great problem in human affairs." One cannot help wondering, if Mr. Everett were alive to-day, whether he would be so thoroughly convinced that the problem has been solved! And here comes a Governor of an Eastern State who, in a long enumeration of our excellencies, introduces these phrases: "In reverence for law and order . . . in the respect for the rights of others . . . in recognition of the duties of citizenship, and in the ease and honor with which we tread the myriad paths leading from rank to rank in life, our people surpass all their fellow-men." And Mr. Bryce recalls a passage from an address by an eminent citizen who spoke on the American principles of liberty as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, in this fashion:

> They have given political freedom to America and France, unity and nationality to Germany and Italy, emancipated the Russian serf, relieved Prussia and Hungary from feudal tenures, *and will in time free Great Britain* and Ireland also.

These were all, for their time, well-considered utterances from men who were in the habit of weighing their words. One can imagine what was the language of that large class of our fellow-citizens interested in public affairs, one of whom Mr. Lincoln once described as mounting the platform, unbuttoning his coat, inflating his chest, opening his mouth, and leaving the rest to God!

Perhaps the most wearisome feature of our National bragging was our constant insistence that everything shown to a foreigner was "the biggest in the world." This affirmation was so constantly repeated that it got on the nerves of many foreigners, and they protected

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themselves by interrupting their narrators and completing the sentence for themselves:

"I am now, Sir, about to show you my creamery. It is not yet finished, but when it is I anticipate that it will be the most complete and the best appointed"—I shuddered, for I knew instinctively what was coming—"in the world." Shall I ever escape this tyranny of the biggest thing in the world?

In those days when a foreigner was introduced to a prominent man he was immediately told that he was having the honor of being presented to a "leading citizen." In the old régime leading citizens were as common as Colonels in the South, until one began to wonder whether there were any obscure citizens. There is still a great yearning in this country to know the "greatest" man or woman of every department. Inquiries are constantly made as to the five greatest woman writers in America, their five greatest stories, and the five greatest characters in those stories. American curiosity in regard to greatness seems to be unappeasable. It is almost impossible to make it clear to some of our fellow-citizens that there are various kinds of greatness, and that it is quite impossible to say whether Shakespeare is greater than Beethoven or Beethoven greater than Shakespeare.

There is still too much worship of bigness in this country; but it is a decaying worship. It retreats more and more into the remote districts. To know that it still remains, however, one has only to look at the announcements in the newspapers of any spectacle, or even the publishers' descriptions of new books. The opposite attitude is suggested by words spoken by a Japanese, reported by Mr. Brooks. A Japanese officer, being asked by an American if the Japanese would be able to take Port Arthur, replied: "We do not know. The Russians fight with so much spirit, and die so well; but still we hope in a few months we shall get possession of it." And he also quotes a Japanese official who was congratulated on a great naval victory by one of our admirals: "Yes," was the reply, "we think in Japan that our future tasks will be less difficult."

As a form of humor the National habit of bragging very soon lost its freshness. It became a kind of slovenly cant; the refuge of men who did not take the trouble to face facts; who substituted a large assortment of stock phrases for thought. It not only ceased to be humorous, but it began to be extremely tedious. Nothing is so wearisome to the intelligent American of to-day as a long and glowing account of the glories of America. It is time that all this were taken for granted. If we really are glorious, no words are needed; if we are not, no words can make us so.

Of course bragging is not distinctively an American failing. Other countries brag. The calm sense of superiority of the English, the complacency of the German, the picturesque conceit of the Frenchman, the quiet assumption of the modern Greek that all the great qualities of the greatest race in the world are his, find many humorous illustrations. But there is a calmness, a quiet certitude, about the bragging of other nations that bas been absent from our own assertions. It was the aggressiveness of our bragging which made it so distasteful to foreigners; the fact that they were never allowed to make up their own opinions, but were always instructed. They were not permitted to apply any scale of foreign values, but were obliged to conform to a common standard of bigness. Mr. Kipling could probably have decided for himself the rank of the Palmer House in Chicago without being told that it was "the finest hotel in the finest city of God Almighty's earth!" Some of our foreign critics have been admirably equipped for the task of judging American civilization; some have brought only ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and conceit to the task. We have happily arrived at a time when we treat these latter gentlemen as humorists. Many of our critics have judged us with the keenness and the frankness of friends. We have arrived at the time when we can take their criticism as we take their praise, laying more store by their condemnation than by their approval, because the wounds of a friend are beneficent.

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PUBLIC OPINION

WHO PAYS THE TARIFF TAX?

In The Outlook of December 5, in speaking of a recent article by Mr. Carnegie, you say, "He assumes (we think rightly) as axiomatic that the tax imposed by the tariff is paid by the consumer." May I venture a word? Many years ago I was a truck gardener near your city, and also raised a few chickens, etc., for market. Often farmers from a long distance would load their wagons with apples, potatoes, butter, or poultry, and drive into our market, and in so doing many of them in those days were obliged to pass through from one to perhaps a dozen toll-gates. Later they shipped their produce by boat and rail. I had always understood that they paid their toll, or freight, out of the increased price they received in our market over their home market. So, too, until now, I had thought that when eggs were worth, say, thirty cents a dozen in New York City, and only ten or twelve cents per dozen in Canada, the Canadian egg producer was glad to pay five or ten cents per dozen tariff for the privilege of seling in our better market.

Will not The Outlook kindly elaborate this matter a little, so that the consumer may better appreciate the extent and enormity of his hitherto unknown oppression.

Franklin, Ohio. G. C. G.

[Our correspondent, in fact, makes it clear that the consumer pays the tariff tax. His farmer neighbors did pay their toll taxes out of the increased price which they asked from the consumer for their produce, but the consumer paid that increased price. If the toll-gates had not been in existence, the farmer would have received just as much for his produce, and yet could have charged the consumer a price lower by an amount equal to the abolished tolls. Does our correspondent suppose that the Canadian egg producer pays five or ten cents per dozen tariff out of the Canadian price of ten and twelve cents per dozen for eggs? Not at all. He sells his eggs to the Canadian customers for twelve cents per dozen and to the American customer for twenty-two cents per dozen, taking the ten cents extra received from the American consumer to pay his tax. This is not the whole of the matter, for the middleman who buys the Canadian eggs at twenty-two cents, ten cents of which goes to pay the tariff tax, charges the retail purchaser or actual consumer not merely the profit of the transaction, but a profit on the tax as well. It may be that for revenue purposes or even for protection purposes it is sometimes wise to exact this tax from the consumer, but it is no longer wise for the ultra-protectionist to try to obscure the real merits of the question by claiming that the producer pays the tax. We are in favor of all encouragement being given to the infant hens of Maine, northern New York, and Michigan, but, in order to give them all the sympathy that is their due, we do not think it is necessary to tell them that their sisters in Canada are paying the United States Government one cent for every egg they lay which is sent into the United States.—THE EDITORS.

IT DOESN'T NEED AMENDMENT

May I ask what, if any, amendments to the Constitution you would propose? Do you want "the people" to amend the Constitution to give more power to the President, or to the Vice-President, or to Congress, or to the Federal courts? Is not "Federal authority" now wisely limited? The much-loved, our dear Washington, in his Farewell Address, said: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates." NATHANIEL BACON.

Chicago, Illinois.

[We have no amendments to propose to the Constitution. In our judgment, the Constitution is a sufficiently flexible document to meet the needs of a growing country so long as that principle of liberal construction established by Chief Justice Marshall, and ever since maintained by the Supreme Court of the United States, continues to be the recognized principle of Constitutional construction.—THE EDITORS.]

A GOOD WORD FOR MEXICANS

Although fairly boiling over with indignation, I shall try to reply in moderate terms to the prejudiced and unfair attack on Mexican citizens of the United States by W. F. Wilcox, of La Jara, Colorado, which appeared in his letter in The Outlook of November 7, entitled "Curious Conditions in Colorado."

Mr. Wilcox is quite possibly not aware that the "greasers," to whom he refers so contemptuously and discourteously, are, after the Indians, the original proprietors of the soil on which he lives; that, owing to their lack of the grasping, pushing, domineering traits which have too often been prominent

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characteristies of their American neighbors, they have lost to their acquisitive and oft-times unscrupulous fellow-citizens the greater part of what they at one time possessed. His desire that the "Mexicans," as he ignorantly calls them (for they have a better right than he has to the name of "Americans"), be naturalized is ludicrous to one familiar with the facts. They were naturalized when they were born. One of the most popular and respected of California's Governors, Governor Pacheco, was what Mr. Wilcox so happily describes as "a dark-skinned, barbaric, jabbering greaser"—in other words, a man of pure Mexican blood. His abilities as a charming and princely host and his contribution to the literature of the Pacific Coast still keep his memory green, although he died some years ago.

Ignorance and prejudice giving birth to opinions very similar to those expressed by Mr. Wilcox are the usual cause of race wars in both the South and the far West. Having lived in Mexico for thirty years, and having mixed with Mexicans in the United States as well, I know whereof I speak, and I have a deep regard and respect for the whole race, whether in the United States or Mexico. May I add, as a guarantee of my "Americanism," that I am a grandnephew of General John A. Dix, War Governor of the State of New York, and

AN OLD FRONTIERSMAN.

BOTH GOOD MEN

I ask the publication of this letter in simple justice to an excellent man. Being a constant reader of The Outlook, I think it will give this letter a small space. There is a good deal of home-made honesty and home-made philosophy in what Sairey Gamp said to Betsy Prig when drinking more than her share of tea, "Drink fair, whotever you do!" There should be fairness in all our dealings in life, especially in the articles of such a periodical as The Outlook, whose motto as a magazine should be, "Tros, Tyriusque, mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

I presume that a "square deal" will be the motto of The Outlook hereafter, and it should be, as The Outlook is read in every section of our country, by all classes of people. The Outlook of November 14, in speaking of the late election in Missouri, says: "The later returns show that Herbert S. Hadley, the Republican candidate, was elected Governor of Missouri. His election over his opponent, W. S. Cowherd, a machine politician of the old type, is a victory for the forces of law and order." Much is said in a campaign by the orators that is not borne out by the facts. In this quotation you do Mr. Cowherd great injustice. He is as progressive and clean a man in politics, in law and social standing, as any man in Missouri, whether Democrat or Republican. In saying this I do not mean to reflect on Mr. Hadley. I am also his friend. He is a very successful and brilliant young politician, and is worthy of the great honor of being the elected Governor of this State. When sworn in he will be the youngest man ever chosen to be the Governor of the State. He is only thirty-five years of age, and a resident of the State only nine years. As able as he is, as brilliant as he is, he is not the superior of Mr. Cowherd, who is one of the ablest lawyers at this bar of able lawyers.

THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN.

Kansas City, Missouri.

THE POOR FARMER

The discussion in your columns of the conditions of farmers and farm life does not seem to be illumined by as many cheerful thoughts on the subject as it might. I therefore venture to enclose a newspaper clipping from the Abilene (Kansas) Reflector which admirably condenses certain phases of farm life in the older agricultural States west of the Alleghanies:

THE POOR FARMER

If there is any class of citizens which need sympathy it is the farmers. Their condition is truly sad.

They have nothing in which to live but large, handsome houses.

Nothing for furniture but up-to-date fixings, with pianos on the side.

No way to talk to their neighbors except by telephone.

No way to get mail except by daily rural delivery.

No way to come to town except in rubber-tire buggies or in automobiles.

No way to pay their debts except by checks on their bank accounts.

No way to get more money except by selling some of the alfalfa or wheat or stock on hand.

No way of taking a bath except in a porcelain bathtub.

No way to heat their dwellings except by furnaces.

No pleasure in travel except one or two trips East or to California each year.

No prospect in the future to escape becoming plutocrats and capitalists except by dying or giving away their money.

By all means let us do something to ameliorate the condition of the farmer.

Topeka, Kansas. T. J.

A CHRISTMAS TREE SUGGESTION

With regard to the need of reform as concerns the destruction of the evergreen trees, I suggest that there be given encouragement to the establishment of a custom of using live fir, spruce, or other evergreen trees, and then of planting the same for future growth. One might plan to use a rather small tree for the smallest gifts only. One would thus

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have the decorative effect and preserve the associations involved. In future years this tree would yield its cuttings generously for Christmas greens, and, in company with its brothers of succeeding years, form many a pleasant grove over this land of ours.

Columbia, Missouri. M. R. M.

HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

In a recent editorial referring to the importance of social service for hospital patients you call attention to the interesting effort that was inaugurated seven years ago at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, where a group of medical students was formed for the purpose of following up the cases that came to the hospital for treatment and later combining medical with neighborly help in the home. You state that this was the beginning in America of social service in the hospital.

May I make a slight correction and claim that the first effort along this line was made in our own city and at the New York Post-Graduate Hospital? Eighteen years ago a voluntary committee of young women was formed for home investigation in connection with the children's division of this hospital. Every child leaving the hospital was visited at its home and efforts made to improve any faulty life conditions that either might cause the original disease or tend to a relapse. Some of the results of this early effort were published in The Forum for March, 1894, when the life conditions in the home of six hundred discharged patients were reported.

This work has continued to the present time, but for the past eight years a paid woman physician has regularly done the visiting with the idea of giving medical as well as social relief and advice when needed. A fund is placed at her disposal for purchasing food or other necessities for insuring convalescence, and the children needing a change are sent to the country at all seasons of the year.

It is only by such efforts that hospital work is made really permanent. We have found that this work among children can be most effectually done by a woman physician. Often instruction in properly preparing food is more needed than money to buy the food. This phase of hospital effort is now much more needed than building additional hospitals. You have well epitomized the whole question when you say, "The hospital must carry its campaign beyond its wards and dispensaries if it will really grapple with the public enemy—disease." This advice, if followed by all the hospitals, while adding to burdens already heavy, would vastly increase the permanence of their work among the poor.

HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN, M.D.

CHILD LABOR IN CANADA

In your editorial reference of November 14 to recent child labor legislation in Canada you mention Quebec among the provinces which have factories acts, but you omit that province from the list of those having both factories and shops acts. Quebec has no shops acts, so called, but there is an act "respecting public buildings" which includes within its scope "buildings of three stories or more occupied as offices, and stores employing at least ten clerks." The act, therefore, represents for the Province of Quebec the shops regulation acts of certain of the other provinces. The provincial factory inspectors are assigned the duty of insuring the observance of the act, and their powers as regards the safety and health of employees are the same, in so far as applicable, as those set forth in the regulations under the factories act respecting the employees of industrial establishments. A special provision requires employers to place a sufficient number of seats at the disposal of girls or women working in stores. Under the regulations respecting public buildings of all kinds, whether used as stores or not, no person under eighteen years of age may be placed in charge of an elevator.

R. H. COATS,
Associate Editor Labour Gazette.

Ottawa, Canada.

AIR AND LARGE TELESCOPES

In The Outlook for October 3, Professor W. W. Campbell, Director of the Lick Observatory, criticises a statement made by Professor Percival Lowell, Director of the Lowell Observatory, in an article printed in this publication for April 13, 1907. The matter questioned is:

> In other words, so much purer was the air at Flagstaff than at Mount Hamilton or Washington that more stars [172] were visible with a 24-inch glass there than [161] with a 36-inch one at Lick, and nearly three times as many [61] as could be detected with 26-inches at the Naval Observatory.

This Professor Campbell calls Professor Lowell's "claim of superior power for his telescope and its purer air;" and he admits the observed facts but seeks to give them a different interpretation.

Three vital factors combine to determine the number of stars that can be seen in such a case, namely:

(T) The light-grasping power of the telescope.

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(A) The atmosphere through which the observations are made.

(E) The experience and sensitiveness of the observer's eye.

And it is necessary to consider all these before safe conclusions can be drawn. The comparative light-grasping power of two telescopes is directly as the squares of their linear apertures, therefore the Lick 36-inch refractor should gather two and one-fourth times as much light as does the Lowell 24-inch. And since the light ratio corresponding to one star magnitude is two and one-half, it is evident that the Lick instrument should show stars nine-tenths of a magnitude fainter than the Lowell. What this would mean in number of stars we can estimate, for fortunately the Lick astronomer charted a number of fields and classified the stars he saw in them according to magnitudes. He found almost four times as many stars of the sixteenth and seventeenth magnitudes as of the fourteenth and fifteenth, and nearly twice as many of the sixteenth and seventeenth as of all brighter magnitudes combined. Thus, if a magnitude fainter stars be seen, the actual number found in a given region would be practically doubled. Hence, if the Lick telescope realized upon its theoretical power over the Lowell, its observer should have charted in this region almost twice as many stars as were seen at Flagstaff, a number estimated at three hundred, or eighty-five per cent more than the one hundred and sixty-one which were seen at Lick. This discrepancy Professor Lowell attributed to a higher value of the factor (A), the transparency of the air at Flagstaff, whereas Professor Campbell considers it due to the factor (E), Professor Lowell's proficiency in observing.

Obviously, it matters little to what part of the Lowell Observatory equipment the higher efficiency is ascribed, whether to its observer-in-chief, to its telescope, or to its better air. And this note would be unnecessary were it not that Professor Campbell's statement of the problem is incomplete and misleading. Let us analyze his reasons for setting aside the early Lick astronomer's observations, and for considering that Professor Lowell should be better trained in this work. The fact that the one had been using a 6½-inch telescope and the other a 24-inch has in itself nothing to do with disqualifying the one or qualifying the other. This Lick astronomer published charts of eight such star fields, four in November, 1893, and four (including this one observed at Flagstaff) in August, 1894. If he did these as rapidly as the two recent astronomers did the third of the region they recharted, he would have spent one and three-fourths hours on each of forty-eight (not a "few") evenings, or an equivalent amount of time. Also, there is evidence that he observed at intervals, during no small part of a year, and that the region in question was one of the last charted. Thus he had time to familiarize himself with the work and to overcome hindering conditions. The only statement on this subject he published is, "It seems probable that from the loss of sensitiveness in the eye, having to turn from the telescope to a working chart [artificially lighted] and return to check the place, some of the fainter stars have escaped." This is undoubtedly what Professor Campbell referred to as "certain (described) conditions;" but the same obstacle hindered the Flagstaff astronomer, for he, too, used a light in the same way and to the same end. However, prolonged experience in this work such as the two recent Lick astronomers have had should enable the observer to recognize and to hold in mind complex configurations of stars, so the need for a light would be less urgent; and we are led to infer that in their case it was practically eliminated.

Whether or not Professor Lowell was better or as well trained for this work, even if "he had been using large telescopes for more than ten years in observing difficult objects," depends upon the nature of these ten years of observation. These "difficult objects" were Mars, Venus, and Mercury, bodies millions of times brighter than the faintest stars here to be observed. Venus and Mercury he was wont to observe in the brightness of the noonday sun, Mars mostly at night. His work has been confined to a study of the surface features of the planets, and while it has brought him distinction, it is not clear wherein it trained his eye for seeing faint stars. Indeed, would it not be as logical to contend that one who had spent years in mapping the features of the moon's surface with the naked eye was especially trained thereby to see numerous faint stars in the Pleiades? Thus the Flagstaff astronomer had no advantage over the Lick astronomer, and the reasons for setting aside the latter's observations do not find justification in fact.

Now, if Professor Campbell selected from a large staff two other Lick astronomers to re-observe this field of faint stars, it must have been because he considered them "highly specialized surgeons" in this line of observing. Their superior fitness by experience and training for seeing faint stars will be apparent when it is known that the chief work of one has been the observation of objects on the limit of vision, and of the other the measurement of difficult double stars and the faintest satellites of the solar

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system. The reputations they have won are ample testimony to their high abilities as observers. In fact, it would be no easy matter to select from the world's astronomers two others better trained for seeing faint stars.

Why, then, should we not expect these astronomers, specialized in this line of observing, and with eyes scarcely if at all dimmed by the artificial light, to be able to see more stars in the region than were seen by the first Lick observer, and why be surprised if they report a thirty-five per cent increase in one-third of the field as against Professor Lowell's ten per cent increase for the remaining two-thirds? But even at this rate, granting it could have been maintained over the entire region (the reason given for not completing it seems scientifically inadequate), their count would have been almost one hundred stars short of what theory indicates should be seen in the Lick telescope as compared with the Lowell. And the explanation cannot be found in the fact that they observed when the region was scarcely ten degrees lower, for reliable information places this loss of light at about six-hundredths of a magnitude.

Hence the discrepancy remains, and the new Lick observations only testify for, rather than against, the reasonableness of Professor Lowell's conclusion that it is due to a more transparent air at Flagstaff, an assumption which is further borne out by spectroscopic observations. This conclusion, based upon observation, is supported by theory as well, for the three thousand feet higher elevation of the Lowell Observatory avoids a considerable loss of star light which would arise from absorption in the earth's atmosphere.

Flagstaff, Arizona. V. M. SLIPHER.

A POLITICAL EXPERIMENT

Apropos of Professor Lingle's article on the choice of Presidential electors proportionately to the vote cast, and not by the whole State, it may interest your readers to know that the experiment was tried in Michigan in the Presidential election of 1892. In that year, under the so-called "Miner law," the electors were chosen by Congressional districts instead of by the State at large. Under this arrangement, Harrison received 222,708 votes, being 47.8 per cent of the popular vote, and secured 9 electoral votes. Cleveland received 202,296 votes, the per cent being 43.3, and secured 5 electors.

The Miner law was enacted by a Democratic Legislature, and was repealed by the Republicans when they again came into power.

The use of voting machines in Presidential elections suggests another question. In the machine used in this town the voter had the option only of "Republican Presidential Electors," or the opposite ticket. No names of electors were given, hence there was no opportunity to split the ticket. It had to be voted as a unit.

This may be all right, but it certainly deprives the voter of any choice in the matter of individual electors. I saw it stated in the papers that Governor Fort, of New Jersey, refused to use a machine in the late election because he considered that it deprived the voter of a Constitutional right.

Since the electors have become mere registering machines, it might be as well to allow no splitting of the electoral ticket. The voter should, perhaps, have nothing to say about the men, but express himself only as to the candidate for President and Vice-President. But the use of machines in some States, which allow only one vote for the whole list of electors, is bound in time to raise some interesting questions as to their legality. That they save time and labor is undeniable.

WILLIAM S. JEROME.

Northville, Michigan.

PERSONAL CAMPAIGNS

In your issue of December 5, on page 775, Mr. J. H. Simpson makes a grievous mistake. Mr. Bryan, Democrat, did not start the custom of a personal campaign for the office of President. Mr. Blaine, Republican, in 1884, made a very active, brilliant, and able personal campaign, traveling rapidly, speaking in public buildings, in the open air, and from the railway car platform.

J. J. TAYLOR.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

WHY THE PUBLIC SHOULD ENFORCE HIGH STANDARDS

BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT

PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

A NOTABLE characteristic of human nature, whether among educated or uneducated men, is the universal reaching out after a specific. In theology, in medicine, in education, we are constantly seeking for specific creeds, specific cures, specific means of education, and intellectual cleverness is no protection against the vagaries of human nature. Growing out of our universal craving for a specific is the almost equally widespread tendency to accept the man or the association of men that undertakes to furnish specifics, whether these be of faith or of practice.

Now the facts of our universal human experience go to show that there are few specifics in the settlement of questions which involve moral, intellectual, and physical forces. Even in the diagnosis of the simpler forms of human illness many factors enter. There are few diseases which are unmistakable and for only a few of these have we specific remedies, and the efficacy of these is a function of the time and the manner of application. For intelligent treatment of the great number of such diseases we must depend on the honesty, the intelligence, and especially on the training and experience of the medical practitioners whom we consult. For this training all practitioners, whether of one school or another, are dependent on their knowledge of certain fundamental sciences—physiology, anatomy, biology, chemistry, and the like. In fact, the practice of medicine is nothing else than the application of these fundamental sciences, just as the practice of electrical engineering is simply applied physics, mathematics, and mechanics. The general public cannot possibly differentiate between the various medical sects. The ordinary, busy, intelligent man has no opinion which is of any value as between allopaths, homeopaths, or eclectics, for example. The only possible protection he can secure is to insist that the man licensed to practice shall be first of all a well-educated man, and, secondly, that he shall have been thoroughly grounded in the fundamental sciences upon which all medical practice depends. The only defense which he can hope to secure against the incompetent or fraudulent practitioner of medicine is to obtain such legal regulation of medical licensing and such expert scrutiny of medical education and the admission to practice as will guarantee the thorough preparation of authorized practitioners in the science of the day. The quack would gladly practice in accordance with the latest discoveries of science if he only knew them. The rights and the interests of the public can be conserved only by requiring all candidates for practice—whether they be allopaths, homeopaths, eclectics, osteopaths, Christian Scientists, or faith healers—to show evidence of a thorough grounding in these fundamental sciences before being permitted to practice.

Not only has the public been slow to appreciate the fact that its interests and its safety lay in good standards of medical education, but it has generally been hostile to the reforms which the representatives of the leading medical societies have endeavored to bring about. The sympathy of the public has gone usually to the men who desire to practice medicine by the light of nature or, at best, with a most superficial preparation in the fundamental sciences which underlie medical practice. It is this attitude of the public which makes the practice of medicine the easiest field for the charlatan and the quack to enter.

An interesting feature of the legislation in this matter is the light thrown

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upon the commercial value in the United States of the professional title doctor in the practice of medicine. Experience shows that the public will accept the most incompetent practitioner who can legally affix the title of doctor to his name, whether it be gained in one medical sect or another, while it will not accept practice from an individual not equipped with that title. For example, the osteopaths have not been able to secure practice in those States where they are unable to use a medical degree. The American Medical Association has waged no war on osteopathy as such. It stands ready to accept the osteopathic college whenever this will require the same fundamental training of its students which is required of all well-equipped practitioners. The man who undertakes to practice medicine under the name of osteopathy has exactly the same diseases to diagnose and to treat which other physicians have. He has exactly the same need for a training in the fundamental medical sciences. If, after he has taken such a training, he desires to call himself a doctor of osteopathy, he has every right to use that title, and the public can have no more objection to it than it can to the fact that one trained theologian chooses to call himself a Methodist and another a Unitarian, while both undertake to teach and to practice the same religion.

The only possible protection and assurance which the public can have is to insist upon this fundamental training as a preliminary to any practice, and it may rightly suspect the motives of any set of would-be practitioners who undertake to evade these reasonable requirements—necessary alike in the interests of the public and of the profession of medicine. In standing firmly for these standards of professional education, while at the same time expressing its readiness to recognize any school which maintains them—whether of one medical sect or another—the American Medical Association is rendering a most noteworthy public service and is at the same time occupying ground beyond criticism by any group of practitioners.

With respect to the practice of law, the public interest lies likewise in the enforcement of high professional standards. The practitioner of law does not deal so directly with the personal well-being of every citizen as does the physician, but no other profession is so closely related to the development of justice and to the progress of sound public policy. There is no way by which the public can tell whether the practitioner of law will develop into a wise advocate or into a sharp attorney. The only criterion it can impose for its own protection is to require such a training for entrance to the profession as will fit the ordinary man for good work in it and will at the same time serve as a means to exclude the unfit.

Not only does the public find its sole protection in uniform requirements of high standards for entrance into these professions, but the tolerance by the public of low standards means the maintenance of an open door for the benefit, not of the deserving, but of the unfit. The practice of medicine and of the law is overrun to-day by a horde of those seeking to earn in these callings a means of living, who, under a more just system of educational standards, would be rendering to their communities a real service in some productive calling. It should be borne in mind that neither of these professions contributes to the productive wealth of society, and a man is of value to the world in them only when his ability is such that he contributes something over and above the amount represented by his fees. There are to-day more men in both of these professions than the country needs, and yet there are certainly, in the judgment of competent medical authorities, not enough competent medical practitioners to do the work of the country. Omitting for the time the dishonest quack in medicine and the unscrupulous attorney, it is still true that a large proportion of those in these professions ought to be earning a living in other callings where they would render a return to society by contributing to the productive energy of the world. The evils of the present overproduction of ill-trained physicians and lawyers is perhaps more strikingly manifest in the small towns than elsewhere. In almost any town of five hundred families one

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can find a half-dozen physicians and as many lawyers struggling for a living, when at the most two competent men in each profession could do the work of the community. Lawyers under such conditions spend their time in the exploitation of petty causes, or in efforts to secure office. Physicians in such circumstances minister in large measure to chronic invalids, while the great cause of right sanitation and public health of the community is left absolutely untouched. Low educational standards not only are an injustice to the public on its own account, they are absolutely demoralizing to the profession. They serve to lay in the path of ill-trained and weak men temptations for which they are wholly unprepared, and the fruits of this mistake the public reaps.

The public is not less interested in right educational standards for the other great historic profession—the ministry. Low standards of admission have worked in this great calling exactly the same consequences which one finds in the practice of law and of medicine. The demoralization of low educational standards is in truth even more evident here than in the other two great professions generally associated with that of the ministry. This last is due to several causes. The most evident is the fact that the profession of the preacher has not kept pace with the enormous advance in popular education. A hundred years ago ministers were the educated men of their communities, and their power was in proportion. In the interval the congregations have risen enormously in the scale of general education. With this rise the law and medicine have to a considerable extent kept pace. The ministry has relatively retrograded. The standards of admission to it have not kept pace with the general progress.

Another disadvantage under which the ministry has labored is the burden of sectarianism, the most common form of devotion to specifics which the world has known. In this respect the profession of the preacher resembles somewhat that of the medical practitioner, with the difference that the medical sects are fewer in number. Essentially, however, sectarianism in theology and in medicine rests on the same basis, In medicine the practitioner depends on the same fundamental sciences, and the same body of medical knowledge is open to him, whether he calls himself a homeopath or an eclectic. In exactly the same way one preacher may be called a Baptist and another a Roman Catholic. Yet each undertakes to teach the same religion out of the same Bible. The medical sects have made one enormous advance over religious sects. The better representatives of all medical sects have gathered themselves into one society for the betterment of their common standards, a thing which is scarcely to be hoped for in the near future among religious sects.

Much has been said in recent years of the decay of churches and the weakening of church ties, particularly among Protestants. Many explanations have been given of this tendency. No doubt many factors have a share in the result which we see. Among these one of the most evident is the inefficiency of the ministry, due in the main to low standards of admission. In the Protestant churches, where the power of authority has largely passed by, the work of the church depends on the quality of the religious leadership of its preachers. The efficiency of this leadership is low. In the small towns one finds the same conditions which exist among lawyers and physicians. Four or five ministers eke out a living where one or two at most could do the work efficiently. Like the doctors of their villages, these men concern themselves with chronic cases and specific remedies, while the great problems of the moral health of their communities go untouched.

The old mother church has pursued a more far-sighted policy in this matter than the majority of her daughters. She requires of all her priests a long and severe training. However one may criticise the kind of education which they receive, or the large factor of loyalty to the ecclesiastic organization which forms part of it, the wisdom of the requirement is unquestionable. To it is due in very large measure the enormous moral power of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, particularly among the

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great masses of working people in the cities, where Protestantism has been so markedly ineffective.

The Protestant ministry faces to-day a most serious economic difficulty. The low standards of admission, coupled with the multiplication of sects and church buildings, have brought into the profession of the minister a large number of ill-trained men, and have at the same time brought down the financial recompense of the minister to a very low basis—the basis, indeed, of the inefficient man. However indispensable is the altruistic motive in the life of the preacher or of the teacher, neither preaching nor teaching can be considered independently of their economic relations in the social order, unless the solution of the Roman Catholic Church is accepted, under which preachers are celibate priests and draw their support from the church. So long as preachers are to marry and bring up families and assume a place in the social life of their communities, so long will the efficiency of the preacher have a direct relation to the quality of his financial support. The poverty of this support at this time, its uncertainty, the uncomfortable attitude of begging for one's self, which many preachers have to assume, particularly in small communities, all operate powerfully to turn away able and serious men from this profession. A community which would support in comfort and dignity two able religious leaders will pay a bare living to five denominational preachers. And it is quite as true in the ministry as in any other profession that, taken by and large, one decently paid man is worth many ill-paid and inefficient men. It is impossible to estimate how much the cause of religious progress is delayed by the fact that a great proportion of the men who assume, as representatives of the Christian denominations, to take the place of religious leaders, are unprepared for such leadership, are untrained in the fundamentals of theology, in the elements of learning, in knowledge of mankind, in the interpretation of life from the religious rather than from the denominational standpoint, Meager as are the salaries paid, they are in many cases equal to the service rendered. In this situation the public is profoundly interested, and its interests lie in the enforcement of higher standards of training.

The public can form no sound conclusion whether a Methodist or a Baptist is likely to be the more efficient religious leader, any more than it can determine whether a homeopath or an allopath is the more likely to be an efficient practitioner of medicine. Of one thing only it can be sure, and that is that whether a man undertake to lead in one religious organization or another, he ought to have grounded himself in the fundamental studies and training which lie at the basis of all religious teaching, of all intellectual and spiritual leadership. Just what study and what experience should form the basis of the education of the man who aspires to religious leadership are matters concerning which men will differ, just as they differ concerning the most efficient education of lawyers and doctors. But all men can agree in the generalization of Dr. Lyman Abbott, in the "Problems of Life," that "a religious education is not an education in ethics. A religious education is the training of the religious nature." And training counts for as much here as in any other human relation.

The raising of the efficiency of the profession of the ministry rests largely in the hands of preachers themselves, just as the raising of the profession of the law rests with lawyers, and the raising of the profession of medicine rests with physicians. That the effort presents for any particular Christian organization serious social, administrative, and economic difficulties cannot be denied. That the advancement of religious influence in the lives of men rests in large measure on this effort seems equally clear.

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BREAKING THE SOLID SOUTH

BY WALTER H. PAGE

The dinner given by the North Carolina Society of New York City last week, at which something like five hundred men sat down, was an epoch-marking event. The speech of President-elect William H. Taft is summarized and commented on in our editorial pages. We here give Mr. Walter H. Page's notable address in full, and commend it to the welcoming consideration of our readers—especially of our Southern readers. The applause given to both these addresses may be justly taken as an indorsement by representative Southern men of the sentiments expressed in them, and as an indication that in these addresses may be found the basis of an agreement in fundamental principles between the North and the South.—THE EDITORS.

HERE, if nowhere else, we leave political parties and preferences alone. But here, as everywhere else, we are patriotic men; and we North Carolinians have as our background a community that from the first showed a singularly independent temper. A freedom of opinion is our heritage. We once drove a Colonial Governor, who disputed our freedom of political action, to the safer shelter of the Colony of New York; and throughout our history we have shown a sort of passion for independent action, in spite of occasional eclipses. We are, in fact, never sure that we are right till half our neighbors have proved that we are wrong.

We are therefore, and have long been, much distressed by the continued political solidity of the States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania; and we wish that it were broken—not for the sake of the Democratic party nor for the sake of the Republican party (for the break would benefit each alike), but for the sake of greater freedom of political action by our fellow-citizens who dwell there. Where one party has too long and secure power it becomes intolerant and the other party falls into contempt. Thus these States have become stagnant or corrupt. For the sake of free political action we wish that their solidity might be broken, so that the whole conscience and character of their people might find full political expression. What constructive influence have they, or have they in recent years had, in the Nation's thought and political progress?

For the same reasons, we have taken an especial pleasure in the recent breaking up of Ohio, Minnesota, and Indiana—where on the same day Presidential electors of one party and Governors of the other party were chosen; for this breaking asunder of party dominance makes both parties tolerant and careful, helping them both and showing the utmost freedom of political action. And these States contribute much to our political life.

By the same token we rush in where Texas and Virginia fear to tread, and we shall welcome the impending and inevitable breaking of the Solid South (perhaps we shall lead it), not for the sake of the Republican party nor for the sake of the Democratic party (although it would help each party equally), but for the sake of open-mindedness and of freedom of political action, so that all men there may walk by thought and not by formulas, and act by convictions and not by traditions. Wherever one party by long power breeds intolerance, the other falls into contempt. And what constructive influence have the Southern States in our larger political life? From some of them, where parties have fallen low, we have seen men go to one National Convention as a mere personal following of a twice-defeated candidate foredoomed to another defeat; and to the conventions of the other party we have sometimes seen office-holding shepherds with their crooks drive their mottled flocks to market.

We are tired of this political inefficiency, this long isolation, and these continued scandals, and we are tired of the conditions that produce them. If parties are to be instruments of civilized government, these conditions must be

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changed. We must have in the South a Democratic party of tolerance and a Republican party of character; and neither party must be ranged on lines of race.

We aspire to a higher part in the Republic than can be played by men of closed minds or of unthinking habits or by organized ignorance. We aspire again to a share in the constructive work of the government in these stirring days of great tasks at home and growing influence abroad.

I am leaving party politics severely alone; but I am speaking to a National and patriotic theme. A Republican administration or a Democratic administration is a passing incident in our National history. Parties themselves shift and wane. And any party's supremacy is of little moment in comparison with the isolation of a large part of the Union from its proper political influence.

The manhood and the energy and the ambition of Southern men now find effective political expression through neither party. The South, therefore, neither contributes to the Nation's political thought and influence nor receives stimulation from the Nation's thought and influence. Its real patriotism counts for nothing—is smothered dumb under party systems that have become crimes against the character and the intelligence of the people. Politically it is yet a province; and we are tired of this barren seclusion. Men who prefer complaint to achievement may regard this as treason; let them make the most of it. We prefer a higher station in the Union than New Hampshire and Vermont and Pennsylvania and Arkansas hold.

From the first our Commonwealth conspicuously stood for something greater than any party, something that antedates all our parties—that spirit of independence in political judgment and action which brought the old thirteen States into being and made the Republic possible. And that spirit is not yet dead. If it cannot regain its old-time influence through one party, it will regain it through another.

We are the descendants of men who fashioned parties in their beginning; and, if need be, we can refashion them. For the aim of government is not to preserve parties, but to give range to free individual action in our democracy.

And it is in this spirit of National aspiration that we welcome our distinguished guest of honor—a man now placed above parties and too just to regard the Republic by sections—our best-equipped citizen for the highest office in the world.

To the President-elect: May his Administration mark the return of Southern character and sincerity to its old-time part in the constructive work of government and the end forever of its political isolation from the achievements and the glory of the Union!

THE TREASURIES OF THE SNOW

BY EMILY C. J. FOLGER

Gray skies closed in the day ere tasks were done;
His light he lit, so worked the laborer on:
'Twas midnight quite before his rest was won.

What hath befallen! Far-stretching fields of snow,
Whose trees like coral and stalagmite show,
Shine white, and make his taper dimly glow.

O toiling soul, trust on! For thy dark night
Stays not the hour of God's still wonder bright.
Soon thou shalt see His transformed world alight.

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FOREST FIRES AND THEIR PREVENTION

BY ALFRED L. DONALDSON

THE forest fire has ceased to be a mere casualty in the great North Woods, and is rapidly becoming an institution. Drought and fire in the Adirondacks have become concomitants. Each year that a protracted period of dryness occurs the fires become worse; they increase in number, devastate larger areas, and become more threatening to the populated communities.

Only those who have been close to them can realize their hideous potentialities and measure the impotence of human intervention unless aided by the elements. This fall, for instance, the fires smoldered for weeks, but, by the grace of God alone, scarcely a breath of air stirred during all the time. Had the wind blown, it is conservative to say that the burned areas would have been tripled.

The value of trees in the natural economy is established beyond cavil, and is widely admitted as belonging to a class of blessings that we take for granted. But any real fear of forest denudation hovers around the average mind as a mere journalistic bogie—a vague possibility—like an eruption of Vesuvius. As a matter of fact, under existing conditions, it has become a very real probability—a next-door neighbor who has moved in.

In his report to the Public Service Commission, after visiting some of the burned districts in the Adirondacks, Mr. Thomas W. Osborne says among other things: "I may say for my own part that I gravely question whether the damage of this year may not prove to be greater than that of 1903. At that time large tracts of timber were destroyed; but it was in the spring of the year, and the ground was not so dry as during these present fires, which have to a large extent burned over the same area, destroying a great deal of the spongy, mossy earth, the floor of the forest, which nourishes the vegetation, and which would have enabled the trees to grow up again within a generation or so. There are now large tracts burned down to the bare rock; not only the forests, but the foundation of the forest is gone. That can probably never be replaced. I do not mean to exaggerate the picture or to intimate that the whole or even the greatest part of the Adirondacks is wrecked. Fortunately, it is not so bad as that. But it is undeniable that a vast territory has been seriously and a great deal of it irretrievably damaged."

The stress which Mr. Osborne lays on the absolute sterilization of the twice-burned areas points straight to the impassable dead-line each recurring fire marks with its ashes.

And now, while these ashes are still smoldering, and the far-reaching message of the smoke not quite forgotten, seems a fitting time to diagnose with care our forest troubles, and to open the forum of remedial suggestion.

The hue and cry at present is largely against the railways, and there is no doubt that they set a major percentage of the fires. If they can be forced to use oil or electricity, one source of danger—but only one—will be removed. The hunter, the picnicker, the careless, the foolish, the unscrupulous, will still be at large, and forever beyond the reach of purely preventive laws. The railways of France and Germany pass through forests that are practically immune from fire. What has been done can be done. Immunity abroad means the possibility of immunity here.

Freedom from disease is largely conditioned on the general health. It is a well-known pathological fact that tubercular germs exist in many persons who never succumb to them, because a strong constitution and good health allow the germs no foothold. If such a person becomes run down and debilitated, however, the germ at once attacks some weakened spot and assumes the ascendency. The patient then starts in to rebuild his powers of resistance, and thus throw off the aggressive bacilli.

The forests of Europe are like the

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person in perfect health who perpetuates it along the lines of modern hygiene. The bacilli of fire are in its system, but they find no breeding-bed of weakness. Our Adirondack forest, on the other hand, is the exact counterpart of the debilitated and flaccid person whose unsanitary mode of life invites and breeds disease. Our woods are the happy hunting-ground of the fire bacillus.

Look at their seemingly premeditated combustibility. The live tree dies and falls from sheer neglect. It kills thereby some others. It begins to rot and decay. It ultimately reaches the ground as "duff"—that soft, spongy earth of our forest floor. Around it lie the fallen branches and twigs which, mixed with the scrubby undergrowth, are locally called "slash." The result is a scientifically laid fire-bed: a peat-like bottom, "slash" and the fallen trees for kindling, and the green timber for back-logs. And this is called the Park of the People of the Empire State, in which, within the last few years, one million five hundred thousand dollars has been invested!

If, perchance, we pass from the public to an adjoining private park, we are struck at once by the care and foresight that distinguish the appearance of the latter, without need of sign or fence, from the neighboring State lands.

If the individual finds it wise to clean the ground under his trees, why should the group of individuals known as the State find it unwise?

At first glance it would appear that the Constitution makes this neglect of the forests mandatory, and it is only charitable to assume that the State has acted—or failed to act—on this assumption.

Section 7 of Article VII of the Constitution reads: "The lands of the State, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be *leased*, sold, or exchanged, or be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the *timber* thereon be sold, removed, or destroyed."

The crux of the question lies in the exact meaning of the word "timber." In current speech, and according to the dictionaries, it means *standing* or *growing trees*. In England at one time it meant specifically oak, ash, and elm; but both there and here its scope has widened until, according to a Federal Court decision, it is held to include "all sorts of wood from which any useful article may be made, or which may be used to advantage in any class of manufacture or construction." Broad as this definition is, it fails to cover the fallen and useless "slash," which is left to breed combustibility on our forest floors. At all events, there seems ample latitude for testing its legal scope. If the courts uphold what appears to be the general construction of the word "timber," let the State set about cleaning house at once.

Much of the fallen wood that is useless for any other purpose is available for fire-wood. Let the State use it for its own charitable institutions; let the poor take it to help them through the nine months' winter, with split wood selling at three dollars a cord. If the expense of supervision and control is objected; if the fear of advantages taken by the unscrupulous, here and there, is raised, let the fire bills answer the one and the irretrievable wastes of desolation the other. The labor cost of fighting the fires this fall in Essex County alone, not including the value of timber or property destroyed, is estimated at $40,000. Of this the State must pay at least one-half.

If the courts should decide that the Constitution means enforced neglect and ultimate death for the forests, then an amendment would seem to offer the only hope of salvation. And if the people are ever roused to such an extent, they should consider carefully another prohibition of the Constitution that bears indirectly, but none the less surely, on the spread of fires. I refer to the clause forbidding the lease of State lands. The leasing of lands would be a source of income. It should be for a long term of years, under compulsion of erecting a building to cost a specified minimum sum, and of cleaning the leased area. The moment a man had his own property at stake he would become the best fire warden conceivable for all the State land in sight.

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I speak from experience. I own a summer home on the shores of a secluded lake surrounded by State land. During the recent fires all the property-owners kept a careful watch,,not only of the entire lake front, but of the woods far inland. We discovered and smothered exactly seven incipient fires—every one on State land. All that we know of their mysterious origin is that they were too remote from any railway to be set by engine sparks. Later we hired men, at our own expense, to patrol the adjacent State lands. Other private owners all through the mountains did the same. There was no altruism in this. It was merely the principle of self-interest working automatically for the benefit of the State. The objection raised against this proposition is that it favors those with money to the exclusion of the poor. Though the argument is largely sentimental, it can easily be met by a solution of fairness to all. Practically only lake front is wanted for pleasure camping. Let the State measure the shores of all available lakes, and set aside one-half for leasing, and the other half for rough camping under the present restrictions. The equalization of sites could be compassed by alternating so many feet of leasable land with so many feet of reserved land.

In his report to the Legislature for the year 1905 Commissioner James S. Whipple urges strongly the practical benefits that would accrue to the State if certain lands could be leased under proper restrictions. He estimates that the leasing of such lands would yield a revenue of over two hundred thousand dollars, and lays particular stress on the fire protection it would foster. Whatever sentiment existed at the time the constitutional amendment was passed, it is certain that to-day an increasing percentage of intelligent observers see in its prohibitions a dog-in-the-manger policy that prohibits without preserving.

A SONG

BY MARIE HEMSTREET

The Christmas Angel sang to me
(And it was Christmas morn),
"If Christ dwells not within thy soul,
For thee He is not born;
If thou hast not His life in thine,
Then must thou go forlorn."

A fear for my imperfectness
Upon my spirit lay.
"But Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men,
O Angel, I can say!"
"That is the Song of Songs," he cried,
And smiling went his way.

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THE TRANSPLANTING OF CHERRY

BY LUCY PRATT

CHERRIORA was her real name, but they called her Cherry for short. A black cherry it must have been which suggested the likeness, for certainly no one in the most imaginative mood possible could have mistaken her for a red one. In fact, she had at occasional times in her life been actually referred to as "little black Cherry." But she objected to this, and consequently the more kindly disposed made no such distinction. "Little wild Cherry" was another picturesque variation which rather offended her sense of dignity, too, and very rightly it should have. For though she was brought up in the wilderness, she was the most quiet, demure little thing imaginable. But just at present, perhaps, "little homesick Cherry" was as appropriate a combination as any other, for she had been transplanted. And black cherries, so I have heard say, never thrive so well after being transplanted. Yet here she was ruthlessly torn up from the little cabin home "down among de cotton an' de co'n" of Alabama and put down again in a certain spot in Virginia which appealed to Cherry not in the least.

The truth was, it all went back to Nick. Nick, the tall, straight brother with the clean brown skin, who wore a dark blue uniform, and led a company of boys in the battalion at Hampton Institute. For one day he had visited the Whittier School, where he had found five hundred colored children who were graded and taught according to "methods." And Nick had looked around on the classes of children, backed up by their teachers and their critic teachers and their "methods," and thought what a grand thing it would be if Cherry could only be there, too. In fact, he thought about it so hard that the thing grew into a possibility—then into a probability, and then, somehow, before very long it grew into an accomplished fact—and Cherry was established at Hampton, too. And just at first she had thought it was going to be so nice. For she loved good, gentle-voiced Nick very much, and it made her happy to think she was going to see him again. And then the idea of going away to school! Why, it was quite overpowering and wonderful. And so poor little Cherry had traveled out, just as children everywhere, big and little, travel out into unknown distances, fondly imagining all sorts of idealities that are not and never will be, and sooner or later giving in to unadorned facts.

In this instance, the first unadorned fact was Miss North. For Miss North, poor lady, was white. And Cherry had never been "ve'y much 'custom' ter w'ite folks." And when Miss North had said very kindly, "Would you like to sit here, Cherry?" she had taken her seat with timid noiselessness, and had looked shrinkingly back at Miss North, and though she had tried very hard to reply in a faint monosyllable, it had resulted in such an unexpected absence of all sound that Miss North didn't catch it. But Miss North was quite accustomed to small, shy newcomers, and not in the least upset by not getting an answer to a civil question.

"And you are Nicholas Wade's little sister, aren't you?"

Again a painfully conscientious attempt, and something like an extremely faint little whisper.

"And how nice it will be for you to be right where you can see him so often!"

Cherry really thought she said "yas'm" out loud that time. But then there was such a tramping somewhere, and so many children appeared—marching all together, and apparently all at ease and at home, that she rapidly gathered herself into such a very small space that it certainly looked as if she would soon be invisible altogether.

With gentle tact Miss North tried to draw her out that day. And with gentle persistence Cherriora failed to be drawn out. It was only after school, when they were all standing passively in line waiting for the last bell to strike, that for

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a moment—just for a moment—Cherry was "drawn out" unexpectedly. For just behind her stood another small piece of humanity who had watched her quizzically all day. And now, with perhaps misjudged methods, but with a final evident desire to make her feel thoroughly at home before another day should come, he looked for a moment at the back of her tempting, small brown neck, and suddenly Cherry felt the sharp and certain prick of a pin. Could anything in the entire list of casualties be calculated to make one feel more entirely at home for the minute! No one happened to notice the delicate attention; but, with a sudden startled impulse of defense, Cherry turned and struck out savagely. Unfortunately, she struck the wrong boy. There was a wrathful howl.

"Why, Thomas! What *is* the matter?" Miss North was plainly shocked.

"I—I ain' doin' a thing—an' s-she stan' up dere an' bunt me in de s-stomick!"

Really this was unexpected. Miss North sought an explanation.

"What did you do to her, Thomas?"

"He ain' nuver tech 'er, Miss No'th," volunteered several of Thomas's neighbors, and Miss North looked wonderingly at Cherry, who was shaking with frightened, convulsive sobs.

"Come," she said kindly, and the others passed out.

And Cherry, left alone with Miss North, was only conscious of the confused awfulness of being the center of something very dreadful, and of a "w'ite lady" waiting to hear about it!

"And what was the trouble?" questioned the white lady.

There were some faint, whispered words.

"What is it?" she questioned as gently as possible. But I can't hear. Can't you tell me a little louder? . . . Well, well! Never mind. I am sure you won't make such a mistake again, will you?"

Slowly the little new scholar wound her way home. But it wasn't home. It was all so strange! Where was Nick?

And then there was the morning—and the strange new road again, and the strange new school. And as the weeks went on, and she traveled back and forth, back and forth, just the same, the road ought almost to have lost its strangeness. And yet it never did. Once she told Nick that she "reckon it mus' be mos' time fer—fer—ter go back home 'gin!" But Nick laughed at her, and told her she had only just come. Only just come!

Not long after that Cherry heard something one day that sang strangely in her ears for a long time after. It was a bright and ideally beautiful sort of day, and the children all looked very peaceable and happy as they played in the school yard at recess. But suddenly there was a discordant note somewhere.

"Yer stop! Er I'll tell Miss No'th on yer!"

Then there was another voice.

"An' yer'll git sent erway ef yer cyan't 'have yerself, too!"

They were tramping back to their rooms in long lines, but Cherry was saying it over to herself. "Yer'll git sent erway ef yer cyan't 'have yourself, too!" And they were tramping out again at night, and still Cherry was saying it over to herself. "Yer'll git sent erway ef yer cyan't 'have yerself, too!"

But after she had lain down in her small bed that night, she stopped saying it, and lay looking at the bare white walls around her. . . .

"You may take out your readers, children," Miss North was saying.

Cherry looked into her desk. Around one corner of it she looked out at Miss North.

"Your readers, children; quickly, please."

Cherry swallowed painfully. Then with halting, trembling fingers she slowly pulled out—a big—red—defiantly shining—*apple!*

The others were ready.

"Your reader, Cherry. Your reader."

Cherry looked down at the brazen, staring apple held in a shaking small brown hand.

"Why do you keep us waiting?" Couldn't Miss North even *see?* There was a faint flush just visible under Cherry's dark skin.

"Isn't your reader here? Will some one lend her one? Quickly, please!"

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She sat with her eyes cast down on the open book which had been supplied. The awful plot had failed. The monstrous plan had been ruthlessly nipped in the bud—and the spirit of the bold rebel was crushed. She had *meant* to take out the apple.

But we learn wisdom by experience, and perhaps it is as well when we lay our plans to leave out all loopholes of doubt as to their purpose. And having actually made the start, and really planted her foot on the road of riot and rebellion, she felt more confidence in herself, so to speak, more surety of future successes. And then it was several weeks since the last bold venture, and she had had time to recover more or less from the humiliation of defeat.

"Miss No'th, may I pass 'roun' de hats?" she whispered, feeling in childish agitation at Miss North's arm while they waited for dismissal.

"Why, yes, indeed. You have never done that, have you?" It was so entirely unexpected to have Cherry *ask* to do something!

She stood away up on her toes and reached up for hats and caps. They waited with outstretched arms and she handed them out one by one. There were only two left—her own, and, as it happened, her old friend Thomas's tattered blue cap. And just here a strange thing happened. Quickly she handed Thomas her own hat and then passed on with the cap to her seat.

"Dis yere ain' 'long ter me," suggested Thomas, politely.

"You have given Thomas the wrong one, Cherry," explained Miss North.

She sat down, looking the very picture of miserable guilt, her hands clasping themselves tightly around the blue cap. Thomas had already risen to rectify the mistake, and when he found his own property still retained he objected.

"I ain' want no gyurl's 'at!" he grumbled, and, without the usual regard for ceremony, snatched his own away.

"Why, Thomas!" objected Miss North. "How *very* rude! She would have given you your cap, of course."

Cherry looked down at her little crushed hat lying spiritlessly on the desk, and a glistening tear wavered for a moment in her eye, and then rolled slowly down into her mouth. Surely the way of the transgressor is hard.

Miss North watched her curiously for several days after that, and then came the day that they remembered.

They had all been so good that morning, too. And finally, just before recess, as an introduction to a picture lesson, Miss North had drawn a very wonderful and sprightly looking rabbit on the board, and they were all delighted.

"Be very careful not to erase it, and we will keep it for a whole week—" and just here the bell had rung, and a minute later the room was empty.

For five whole minutes it remained empty.

Then slowly the door opened. A little figure crept into the room and stopped. Slowly and warily the little figure made its way across the room to the blackboard.

Cherriora was going to erase the rabbit.

With eyes bulging terrified from her head at the awfulness of the thing, she picked up an eraser and lifted her arm. The eraser smooched—smooched across the board, and she looked up. O—h! The tip—the wonderfully curved tip of one of those beautiful drooping ears was gone—absolutely *gone!*

The eraser dropped down with a bang, and with a smothered, frightened cry she ran out of the room, out—out—down the steps—through the yard—into the road—away behind the fence, where she dropped down in a wretched little heap, and there was only a faint, convulsive catching of the breath and a miserable little moan—

"Oh, w'at is I done, w'at is I done!"

Miss North looked at them as they settled themselves again, and turned around to take up the picture lesson.

"But the ear seems to have gotten rubbed a little. I wonder how that happened."

She said it in a meditative sort of way, more as if she were talking to herself than to any one else, and quickly supplied the broken line.

"Yes, did you want something, Cherry? Then let me see you in position. Now, I wonder how many of you can

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write me a very nice—well, what is it, Cherry? What is the trouble?"

With curious spasmodic jerks her hand was working itself into the air, only to come down and then start up again on this same curious spasmodic journey. With a frightened, unnatural glare her eyes were fixed on the pictured rabbit.

"What is the trouble with it, Cherry?" Miss North turned to the board quickly.

There was a faint murmur.

"What is it?"

Miss North walked half-way down the room and bent her head.

"Now what is it?" she questioned gently.

And it was just audible.

"*I* rub' it out."

Miss North thought she understood.

"Oh, you rubbed against the board and erased the ear a little? But of course I knew that was an accident. Of course you didn't rub it out on purpose, did you?"

Dryly the lips tried to form a word.

"Yas'm."

Miss North looked as if some one were trying to deceive her.

"You rubbed it out on purpose? What did you say, Cherry? *You rubbed it out on purpose?*"

Again the lips moved dryly.

Dumbly Miss North looked at her.

"I think—you—perhaps it will be better to stay after school—and tell me about it then."

And the morning had gone on, just as mornings always do go on, even when they sometimes appear to halt with tragedy—and the children had gone on, too, all except Cherry, and still Miss North waited silently, while a tiny person before her struggled unequally with exhausting, shaking sobs.

"There—there! Don't try to talk yet. We will wait till you feel better."

"I—I—"

"What is it?"

"'Tain' only—"

"What is it?"

"'Tain' only—jes—a li'l'—teeny piece—uv a ear!"

"I know it, a very small piece, but I wonder what made you want to rub off even a little piece. Did you think it would be nice to see how the rabbit looked with only one ear?"

"N—n—no'm!"

"Perhaps you thought it would be fun just because I asked you not to." Miss North's conscience smote her.

"*N—n—no'm!*" There was a note suggestive of physical pain.

"But—but what *was* it, Cherry?"

"I—I—"

"Well?"

"I—I—w-wants—I—"

"Yes?"

"*I—I—wants ter go home!*"

Miss North did not comprehend.

"Go home? But you can go home in a few minutes. I only—"

"No'm! No'm!" she sobbed wildly, all her shyness leaving her for the first time since Miss North had known her. "Not dat-er-one! Not dat-er-one! I—I means my r'al sho' 'nough home! I—I means—cyan't I go? *I m-means my r'al sho' 'nough home! Cyan' I go?* Oh, please cyan't I go! I—I wants—ter—s-ser b—bad!"

Slowly Miss North began to understand.

"You want—you want to go back—home? Back to Alabama? Is that it? Is—that what you mean? Why haven't you told us—about this before?"

It was only a passive, tired little sob of a whisper—

"I dunno'm."

That night Miss North went to see Nick. And Miss North and Nick between them came to certain logical conclusions which resulted in Nick's going to see Cherry.

"Ef I only could"—Cherry had feebly agreed, in response to something Nick had said—"den I reckon w'en I'se mo' growed—I—could p'r'aps understan' a li'l' better 'bout—'bout bein' ser far 'way—an' could—p'r'aps try ag'in!"

And then the days went by, and there was a new mental setting for Cherry. Just when she was to start they hadn't been able to tell her yet, but the fact remained, and the sun began to look very bright on the strange new road as she traveled back and forth, back and forth, just the same, and thought about it. Nick came to see her so often, too, that he really kept her quite busy. And

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Miss North seemed to keep her very busy, too.

"You see, when you go back home," Nick explained, "you'll want to take some real nice writin' an' sewin' an' drawin' an'—you see you'll want to show 'em how much you've learned. I expect the chil'ren's goin' to start their gardens right soon now, too. Certainly wish you could 'a' raised some radishes to take 'em."

That was the year when winter and spring got so hopelessly mixed that by the middle of February long rows of Whittier garden beds lay basking in the sun, temptingly calling for Whittier children to come out and dig. Cherry remembered something that she had heard some one say about strawberries—and wondered. And one day she stood beside her bed with a small hoe in one hand, while the others danced around in the pure joy of living between the soft, warm earth and the blue sky. And Cherry hoed up little mushy piles of earth, and watched the bluebird that hovered on the hedge—and wondered whether there would be flowers in the garden, too.

"Is it flowers in de gyarden, too, Nick?" she queried softly that evening.

"Reckon mus' be so," soliloquized Nick.

"W'en is I gwine home, Nick?"

Nick looked at her thoughtfully.

"Do you want to go—jus' same as ever?"

Cherry nodded her head slowly.

"'Cuz there's a lady goin' down there right soon now, 'an' I reckon she'd ca'y you with her if—you want to—jus' same."

Of course she did; but the days began slipping on again while the "lady" waited, and the strange new road led past the little garden bed still warming itself in the sun with the others. Just when was it Nick had said that about—she really had been so busy—and what was that she had heard to-day about—blossoms? She looked down at a little package of seeds that she held in her hand. But why didn't Nick say any more *about going home!* What was the matter with Nick? Had he *forgotten?* And why hadn't he been to see her that evening? She had waited for him so long!

"Hullo, Cherry!" It was Nick's voice, surely. And then he stopped and looked at her.

"I reckon you can begin packin' your trunk, Cherry," he began; "you'll have to be all ready to start to-morrow night."

Cherry looked up at Nick bewildered. The little package of seeds dropped to the floor, blossom side up.

"I—w'at yer say—w'at yer say, Nick?"

Nick explained.

Cherry gulped nervously, and looked too much ashamed even to look at him. So she looked down at the flowers, still blooming on the paper package.

"I—I—doan't yer know, Nick—I reckon—doan't yer know—I s-seem ter be jes' gittin'—jes' gittin' a li'l' mo' 'c-custom'—where I is! So—ef I could—yer see, Nick, I doan't guess—I—I means I reckon—I'd jes' like—ter—" her small voice was sinking away to a smaller and very penitent whisper—"ter keep on a-stayin' right yere—*a li'l' w'ile longer!*—ef I could!"

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KING SOLOMON OF KENTUCKY

Many readers of The Outlook expressed their appreciation of the republication in its columns last year of Mr. James Lane Allen's characteristic and beautiful story of "King Solomon of Kentucky," a delicate and artistic commemoration of an obscure hero. Americans have not been slow to recognize their political and military leaders; General Sherman is reported to have said that he could not live in Washington because he was surrounded with images of his old friends on iron horses. They have been slow, however, to recognize their creative men and women in art, and to honor heroism and unselfishness in obscure people. The Firemen's Memorial Fund of New York will presently put within the city of New York a memorial of a brave man; New Orleans has recognized the beauty of the life of a devoted and unselfish woman in a statue; and now Mr. Allen's literary commemoration of an obscure hero has secured a proper monument for King Solomon, whose heroic self-sacrifice in the terrible cholera epidemic of 1833 the novelist has dramatically related in the story. The unveiling of the monument took place in the Lexington cemetery on an autumn afternoon, with appropriate exercises, in the presence of a large crowd, which included the Governor of Kentucky, the Mayor of Lexington, and many prominent people. The monument is a very simple slab, with the inscription

WILLIAM (KING) SOLOMON
1775–1854
Hero of 1833 Cholera Plague
"For had not he a royal heart?"

The most interesting feature of the occasion was the reading of an address by Mr. Allen. This address The Outlook is very glad to reprint, omitting the opening paragraphs which refer specifically to the occasion.—THE EDITORS.

WE are witnessing at present a revival of conflict between two ideas in our civilization that have already produced a colossal war; the idea of the greatness of our Nation as the welded and indissoluble greatness of the States, and the idea of the separate dignity and isolated power of each sovereign commonwealth. The spirit of the Nation reaches out more and more to absorb into itself its own parts, and each part draws back more and more into its own Attic supremacy and independence, feeling that its earlier struggles were its own struggles, that its heroes were its own heroes, and that it has memories which refuse to blend with any other memories. It will willingly yield the luster of its daily life to the National sun, but by night it must see its own lighthouses around its frontiers—beacons for its own wandering mariner sons and a warning to the Nation itself that such lights are sacred wherever they stand and burn.

But if the State more and more resists absorption into the Federal life, then less and less can it expect the Nation to do what it insists is its own peculiar work; the greater is the obligation resting upon it to make known to the Nation its own peculiar past and its own incommunicable greatness. Among the States of the Union none belongs more wholly to herself and less to the Nation than does Kentucky; none perhaps will resist more passionately the encroachments of Federal control; and upon her rests the very highest obligation to write her own history and make good her Attic aloofness.

But there is no nobler or more eloquent way in which a State can set forth its annals than by memorializing its great dead. The flag of a nation is its hope; its monuments are its memories. But it is also true that the flag of a country is its memory, and that its monuments are its hopes. And both are needed. Each calls aloud to the other. If you should go into any land and see it covered with monuments and nowhere see its flag, you would know that its flag had gone down into the dust and that its hope was ended. If you should travel in a land and everywhere see its flag and nowhere its monuments, you would ask yourself, Has this people no past that it cares to speak of? and if it has, why does it not speak of it? But when you visit a country where you see the flag proudly flying and proud mon-

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uments standing everywhere, then you say, Here is a people who are great in both their hopes and in their memories, and who live doubly through the deeds of their dead.

Where are Kentucky's monuments for her battlefields? There are some; where are the others? Where are her monuments for her heroes that she insists were hers alone? Over here waves the flag of her hopes; where are the monuments that are her memories?

This man whom you memorialize today was not, in station or habiliment, one of Kentucky's higher heroes; his battlefield was the battlefield of his own character; but the honor rightly heaped upon him at last makes one remember how many a battlefield and how many a hero remain forgotten. Not alone the fields and heroes of actual war, but of civic and moral and scientific and artistic leadership. These ceremonies—whom will they incite to kindred action elsewhere? What other monuments will they build?

There is a second movement broader than any question of State or National patriotism, in which these ceremonies also have their place. It is the essential movement of our time in the direction of a new philanthropy.

No line of Shakespeare has ever been perhaps more quoted than this: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." It is true that he put the words into the mouth of a Roman of old; but they were true of the England of his time and they remained true for centuries after his death. But within the last one hundred years or less an entirely new spirit has been developed; a radically new way of looking at human history and at human character has superseded the old. The spirit and genius of our day calls for the recasting of Shakespeare's lines: Let the evil that men do be buried with them; let the good they did be found out and kept alive.

I wish to take one illustration of the truth of this from the history of English literature.

Do you know when and where it was that satire virtually ceased to exist in English literature? It was at the birthplace and with the birth of Charles Darwin. From Darwin's time, from the peak on which he stood, a long slope of English literature sinks backward and downward toward the past; and on that shadowy slope stand somewhere the fierce satirists of English letters. Last of them all, and standing near where Darwin stood, is the great form of Thackeray. All his life he sought for perfection in human character and never found it. He searched England from the throne down for the gentleman and never found the gentleman. The lifelong quest sometimes left him bitter, always left him sad. For all of Thackeray's work was done under the influence of the older point of view, that the frailties of men should be scourged out of them and could be. Over his imagination brooded the shadow of a vast myth—that man had thrown away his own perfection, that he was a fallen angel, who wantonly refused to regain his own paradise.

And now from the peak of the world's thought on which Darwin stood the other slope of English literature comes down to us and will pass on into the future. And as marking the beginning of the modern spirit working in literature, there on this side of Darwin, near to him as Thackeray stood near to him on the other side, is the great form of George Eliot. George Eliot saw the frailties of human nature as clearly as Thackeray saw them; she loved perfection as greatly as he loved perfection; but on her lips satire died and sympathy was born. She was the first of England's great imaginative writers to breathe in the spirit of modern life and of modern knowledge—that man himself is a developing animal—a creature crawling slowly out of utter darkness towards the light. You can satirize a fallen angel who willfully refuses to regain his paradise; but you cannot satirize an animal who is developing through millions of years his own will to be used against his own instincts.

And this new spirit of charity not only pervades the new literature of the world, but has made itself felt in every branch of human action.

It has affected the theater and well-nigh driven the drama of satire from the

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stage. Every judge knows that it goes with him to the bench; every physician knows that it accompanies him into the sick-room; every teacher knows that he must reckon with it as he tries to govern and direct the young; every minister knows that it ascends with him into his pulpit and takes wing with his prayer.

And thus we come back around a great circle of the world's endeavor to the simple ceremony of this hour and place. There is but one thing to be said; it is all that need be said; it is an attempt to burnish one corner of a hero's dimmed shield.

It is autumn now, the season of scythe and sickle. Time, the Reaper, long ago reaped from the field of this man's life its heroic deed; and now after so many years it has come back to his grave and thrown down the natural increase. On the day when King Solomon was laid here the grass began to weave its seamless mantle across his frailties; but out of his dust sprang what has since been growing—what no hostile hand can pluck away, nor any wind blow down—the red flower of a man's passionate service to his fellow-men when they were in direst need of him.

And so, long honor to his name! A new peace to his ashes!

COMMENT ON CURRENT BOOKS

THE HOLLAND HOUSE CIRCLE

The orderly arrangement and wise limitations of a recent work[1] by Lloyd Sanders do not at first appear to the reader so fundamental an element in its charm as develops later. In just that careful assorting of masses of possible material, however, lies the skill of the author. He might have been a mere compiler, he is an accomplished author. Passing lightly over the earliest history of Holland House, before and after it came into the possession of the Fox family, the founder of which certainly was rightly named after a crafty animal, he comes to the period included in the first forty years of the last century. Lord Holland, the "dear young one" of his uncle's letters, had a character that was clearly shown in his placid, handsome, good-tempered countenance. Inspired by his admiration for his uncle, Charles James Fox (who, however, was not often a guest at Holland House), educated in the best traditions of his day, and peculiarly fitted to unite in social intercourse many kinds of men, he was brilliantly seconded by his clever wife, who, from her imperious and often rude manner, convinced many that she was by no means second in her household and circle. Mr. Sanders accounts for her "offensive-defensive attitude" towards all alike by the fact of her irregular marriage and her desire to forestall any possible slight that she might expect from society. Such slights she received from some of the more fastidious great ladies, but she made for herself a place as a brilliant social leader. The volume, full of fine portraits, is brimming over with quotable anecdotes and clever sayings. Every one recalls some of the regular habitués, such as Rogers, Romilly, Sheridan, and Horner. By the author's method the guests are easily grouped under certain heads, and we find men of letters, Whigs, wits, artists and actors, men of science, lawyers and radicals, Tories, diplomats, foreign refugees and visitors crowding the dining-table, and, with much inconvenience to themselves, obeying the imperious hostess, who refused escape to any, and once forced Luttrell, when he was commanded to "make room," to retort, "It will have to be made, for it does not exist." Henry Luttrell was a wit of spontaneous humor. Byron described him as the most epigrammatic conversationalist he ever met. Rogers and Luttrell and "Conversation" Sharp were centers of brilliancy in the company. Luttrell's familiar definition of the English climate is still worth repeating. "On a fine day, like looking up a chimney; on a rainy day, like looking down it." He declared the two most disgusting things in the world, because you could not deny them, were Sir George Warrender's wealth and Croker's talents. The chapter devoted to Luttrell is most entertaining. Sydney Smith was a worthy antagonist for the brusque Lady Holland, and after one or two encounters they became warm friends. Some of his caustic sayings are preserved by Lord Holland, and are

[1] The Holland House Circle. By Lloyd Sanders. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50.

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more or less familiar: Macaulay "not only overflowed with learning, but stood in the slop;" Croker would "dispute with the Recording Angel on the date of his sins." Robert Smith was allied both by friendship and marriage connection to Lord Holland. His nickname, "Bobus," clung to him all his life. He was of great intelligence, but was rarely seen in society except at Holland House. When he incautiously boasted of his mother's beauty, Talleyrand cruelly inquired, "C'était donc votre père, monsieur, qui n'était pas si bien?" which, put into the mouth of Lady Holland in English, would have been mere rudeness. Sir Walter Scott was one of the guests, for years, until a difference arose between him and Lord Holland concerning a favor to be bestowed upon Sir Walter's brother. Afterwards the matter was forgotten, and Scott went once more to dine at Holland House, where "Waverley" was received with more than ordinary good favor. Southey, Campbell, Hallam, Lord Alvanley, and Talleyrand, with Madame de Stael—all were seen more or less frequently within the hospitable old mansion. Of Southey Lord Holland wrote:

> "Our Laureate Bob defrauds the King,
> He takes his cash and does not sing;
> Yet on he goes, I know not why,
> Singing for us who do not buy."

Several English sculptors of sorts, who were represented at Holland House, paled before Canova when he arrived in London soon after the Battle of Waterloo to give his judgment upon the Elgin marbles, which his taste approved. He admired Waterloo Bridge, but failed to appreciate Westminster Abbey. Of Sir Benjamin West his verdict was that he did not compose, he grouped models together. The chapter on men of science is of particular interest, and includes sketches of such men as Count Rumford, Sir Humphry Davy, Faraday, and the two great brothers, Alexander and William von Humboldt. Lord Brougham brought his dubious pleasantries and eccentricities of attire into the famous circle for a short time only. A few Tories were occasionally seen there, among them Wilberforce, Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell his brother, and Lord Aberdeen. The political faction headed by Canning was well represented there. After long years filled with a notable procession of great men and women in politics, art, and literature, the traditions were kept up in the advent of Charles Dickens. It is said that he soon fell a victim to Lady Holland's sharp tongue. She forced him to tell her the plot of "Nicholas Nickleby," and when he was about to visit America she remonstrated thus: "Why cannot you go down to Bristol and see some of the third and fourth class people, and they'll do just as well." After the death of the third Lord Holland, and the succession of Henry Edward, the fourth Lord Holland, and his wife, the old mansion continued to be the center of literary, artistic, and political gatherings; but the time for further chronicle has not yet come. No one who is a student of Georgian England can afford to miss this satisfactory and delightful record of personalities. As the Athenæum said in a recent review, "it may be doubted whether England at any other period has produced an intellectual circle comparable in keenness, variety, and charm to that which flourished throughout this supposedly dark age."

INDIA: ITS LIFE AND THOUGHT

This volume[1] by John P. Jones, D.D., presents a well-digested description and analysis of the great Oriental land, which, however much we may study it, will always be a puzzle to Western thought. Dr. Jones holds clearly defined opinions, and has made a careful and protracted study of Indian conditions. His opening chapter upon the present unrest in India is most satisfactory in its intimate comprehension, and would be a valuable source of information for the editors of our newspapers. He treats the various faiths which have found a home in India, in detail, but concisely. He describes Burma with the love of a sympathetic resident. He goes into the subject of Hindu caste thoroughly, making its operation clear by use of familiar similes. He shows clearly the difference between popular Hinduism and the Hinduism of books and idealism. He touches upon the strength and weakness of Islam in India, and gives a fine résumé of the leaders and effect of modern religious reform among Hindus. His final chapter is a temperate yet strongly hopeful review of the progress of Christianity in India. Succinct statements of fact arrest the attention, and are of use to any one desiring truth in a nutshell. Caste, he says, has controlled the life of nearly one-sixth of the human race for twenty-five centuries. He refers to the relation of the Maharajah of Travancore with his Prime Minister, who is a Brahman. The Rajah is not a born but a made Brahman; he will never seat himself in the presence of his minister, nor will the Brahman deign to sit in the presence of his royal master. Hence all the state business, sometimes consuming three hours a day, is conducted by them while standing in each other's presence. When some Westerner, having heard a persuasive, clever Swami,

[1] India: Its Life and Thought. By John P. Jones, D.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.

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asks why we should spend our money and disturb these wonderfully bright people of the East by missions to them, Dr. Jones says, "Come with us to India and see for yourselves"—see what it is to regard religion as a philosophy or an aspiration, and nothing more. He pays a glowing tribute to the many lovable and noble characteristics of the Indian, and is in keen sympathy with him, yet sees his lack. He bids us not to forget that the Hindu regards what we call our foibles of petulance, arrogance, and intolerance with the same disapprobation and disgust as we do their more frequent violation of the seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments. He gives a chapter to the Christ and the Buddha: one emphasized ethical and spiritual attainment, the other sought clear vision and transcendent illumination. As to Christianity, he firmly believes in its ultimate triumph, but reminds us not to expect a survival of the Western type of Christianity. Altogether the book is the work of a thoughtful, sympathetic student. The illustrations are good and wisely chosen.

THE STORY OF A BORDER CITY

Carl Schurz's description of St. Louis in 1860 as a "free city on slave soil" is vividly recalled by the publication of Dr. Galusha Anderson's "The Story of a Border City During the Civil War."[1] Dr. Anderson, who was afterwards President of the University of Chicago, occupied the pulpit of a St. Louis church throughout the war, and as a stanch Unionist played no inconsiderable part in the bitter struggle to prevent Missouri from swinging into the Secession column. Thus he is able, by drawing freely on his personal experiences and recollections, to impart new interest to a chapter in history which is fairly well known, in outline at all events, but the significance of which is not always appreciated even by writers on the Civil War. In St. Louis, Unionism and Secession met face to face from the moment of the election of Lincoln, and throughout the war St. Louis bore the brunt of the struggle to keep Missouri true to the Union. It was indeed a city divided against itself, with family ties sundered, friendships destroyed and blotted out, and a ceaseless commotion of intrigue and warfare. Many of the dramatic events that took place within its limits—notably Nathaniel Lyon's successful raid on the armed camp which Governor Jackson had established in the interests of the party of Secession, and the panic that followed the raid—are described with a really uncommon degree of narrative skill. The book is in no sense a formal history—it abounds in anecdotes grave and gay, many of them relating to such well-known men as Benton, Grant, Sherman, Schurz, Fremont, Halleck, and Frank P. Blair; and from first to last it is distinctly readable.

[1] The Story of a Border City During the Civil War. By Galusha Anderson. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.

NAVAL ADMINISTRATION

A varied collection of essays and addresses are brought together in Captain Mahan's "Naval Administration and Warfare."[1] Most of these, as the title indicates and as will be readily understood by all acquainted with Captain Mahan's work, have to do with naval problems of one kind or another. The genesis and development of the Navy Departments of the United States and Great Britain are examined in two papers. There are two dealing with the strategy of the Russo-Japanese War, and two elucidating the objects and results of the cruise of the United States fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, about which we have had so much irresponsible gossip; and in two other papers the aims and methods of the United States Naval War College are described. Of a more miscellaneous character are essays on Nelson, the Monroe Doctrine, and the writing of history. This last, which was originally delivered as a Presidential address to the members of the American Historical Association, is particularly interesting because it sets forth clearly the ideals which Captain Mahan himself has kept steadily before him as a historical writer. "Facts," he says truly, "however exhaustive and laboriously acquired, are but the bricks and mortar of the historian; fundamental, indispensable, and most highly respectable, but in their raw state they are the unutilized possession of the one, or at most of the few. It is not till they have undergone the mental processes of the artist, by the due selection and grouping of the materials at his disposal, that there is evolved a picture comprehensible by the mass of men. Then only are they in any adequate sense communicated, made part of the general stock." These words should be pondered by every embryonic historian, as by those historians to whom, unfortunately, the accumulation of facts is the chief end of their labors. Clearness, unity, and emphasis on leading ideas are indispensable to successful historical writing, and their value is strikingly illustrated in Captain Mahan's own work, not least of all in the present volume. Each essay conveys sound information in an entertaining, readable way, and in a way that makes the essential, the really important facts and principles stand out from the general

[1] Naval Administration and Warfare. With Other Essays. By A. T. Mahan. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.

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mass. Under Captain Mahan's skillful treatment, for example, the man in the street can comprehend as readily as the specialist the excellences and defects of our present system of naval administration, the naval lessons to be learned from the Russo-Japanese War, and the considerations which prompted the Administration to order our fleet on its Pacific cruise. It is a volume of essays easily read and well worth reading.

ST. FRANCIS'S "LITTLE FLOWERS"

The publication of an attractive and well-printed edition of St. Francis's "Little Flowers"[1] is another evidence of the notable interest in St. Francis which has sprung up of late years. There is a large body of literature relating to St. Francis, and it has grown rapidly during the last decade. Interest was greatly revived by the celebration in 1882 of the seventh centenary of his birth. Since that time various questions have been asked with regard not only to St. Francis but to the Order which bears his name, and many editions of the "Little Flowers" have appeared in the languages of Europe. In 1894 M. Paul Sabatier published his life of St. Francis, reviewed at length in The Outlook at that time. The book has had wide reading and has appeared in many European languages. No figure in the Roman Catholic calendar of saints appears more gracious and lovable, nor about any has there gathered more poetic and beautiful legends.

JUSTICE AND LIBERTY

Putting an argument into the form of a dialogue has its advantages, as Plato and others since his time have seen—the liveliness of incessant question and answer, and the advantage secured to the attacking party as the manager of the defense. A clever British writer chooses to put his argument for collectivism into this form of dialogue[2] with a banker, who stands for the present economic order, and a gentleman of leisure, whose ideal is an aristocracy of the type described by Plato. Starting in agreement that British society is afflicted with preventable evils, the colloquy runs through many topics—marriage, property, labor, inheritance, rent, interest, wages, up to its predestined agreement that the present system of distribution is inequitable. Here it launches out on the home stretch toward the collectivism of an ideal democracy. A maze of controversy over governmental regulation of all social life for the common welfare issues in the assent of the aristocrat and the platonic sympathy of the banker with the collectivist ideal. This is certainly presented brilliantly and forcibly, but not as capable of speedy realization, rather as a goal to struggle towards, "a prophetic vision." The collectivist admits that men are too sordid, stupid, and cowardly to make Socialism work well at present; they must "first be morally and intellectually converted." And so the thing now to do is to cease contending for the existing social order as ultimate, and to prepare the ground for a better—"to transform our inner life by the power of imagination, as we are transforming the outer world by the force of science." Ethical ideals win in the long run. In these lie the strength and hope of Socialism. The Socialism of this book is of the "Fabian" school, educative and opportunist; its weapons are not carnal but spiritual. Its basal principle is that economics must take orders from ethics, as an agent from a landlord.

CHRIST LEGENDS

Several months ago The Outlook published a translation of a story by Miss Selma Lagerlöf, with some account of her work and her distinguished position among Swedish writers. At the recent bestowal of the Nobel prizes for the year her name was prominently mentioned in connection with the prize for literature; and it was quite evident that there was widespread feeling that Miss Lagerlöf was entitled to this great honor. Doubtless it will come to her later. Her volume of "Christ Legends"[1] contains eleven short stories, all relating in one way or another to the Christmas season or to the Christ Child. They belong to different historical periods, beginning with the Bethlehem children. They are all reverent, imaginative, poetic, and genuinely religious in feeling. They are quite removed from the conventional Christmas story, both in their manner and artistic literary method. The translation by Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard appears to be very well done.

LOLLARDY

These scholarly and valuable volumes[2] undertake to lay open from original documents the inner forces at work in a revolutionary movement as yet imperfectly understood—the English Reformation, so called. That its proximate cause was the adulterous passion of Henry VIII is not disputed; that its immediate effects were also vicious is not so evident. This, how-

[1] The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi. Translated from the Italian by T. W. Arnold. M. A. Duffield & Co., New York. $3.

[2] Justice and Liberty. By G. Lowes Dickinson. The McClure Company, New York. $1.

[1] Christ Legends. By Selma Lagerlöf. Translated from the Swedish by Velma Swanston Howard. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.25, net.

[2] Lollardy and the Reformation in England. By James Gairdner, C.B., Hon. LL.D. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Company, New York. $6.50, net.

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ever, is Dr. Gairdner's contention. Henry's forcible substitution of himself for the Pope as the head of the Church, and his paralyzing the authority of its bishops, were "a willful destruction of the best existing guarantees for public morality." It "was really in the main an immoral movement." But no evidence is given that the English people became more vicious; only that tyrannous cruelty of a despotic throne overthrew sound constitutional government, and that Lollardy, a layman's movement, appealing to the Bible, and somewhat encouraged by the King in his controversy with the clergy, subverted the wholesome influences of Church authority. Wiclif's disciples, nicknamed Lollards ("mumblers"), were "too unruly and irreverent." Tyndale showed himself a "wild theorist." Some of his theories, indeed, justify the term. "The one good thing" in Lollardy was that it rested real faith "on an intelligible basis" rather than in ceremonies and usage. Dr. Gairdner seems to take the standpoint of an Anglo-Catholic. He regrets the Papal excommunication of Elizabeth. "Rome, not England, dealt the last blow, and made the mischief irreparable." Yet the principle of royal supremacy, though brutally enforced by Henry, "was nevertheless true." So is the principle of an established Church: "it cannot possibly be annulled;" it is the only bulwark against "a chaos of sectarian philosophies." The value of this history does not consist in the learned author's opinions, but in the copious material which he supplies for a more impartial judgment of the men and the actions of that revolutionary period than is commonly entertained. For instance, John Foxe's celebrated "Book of Martyrs" needs the correction here given to its exaggerations. Of martyrs, indeed, there were a host, and many pages are devoted to them here, to the lowly as well as the great. It is well to show, as Dr. Gairdner does, that heresy was at that time a political menace, and that heretics were punished on political grounds, as resisting the authority of the State's decrees concerning religion. Were this allowed, government might be defied further; it must be stopped. This was precisely the case of Christian martyrs under the State religion of the Roman Empire. It is curious that Dr. Gairdner does not see its bearing against his own contention for an established church. Among other interesting chapters "The Story of the English Bible" tells of the cross-purposes of the King and the clergy, and the interference of vested interests, as the work went on. Dr. Gairdner holds that "the English Bible was forced upon a reluctant people"—more probably, as he says elsewhere, "upon the use of the Church." He would not have religion subjected again to ancient fetters, but he can hardly forgive early Puritanism—to which he gives the nickname Lollardy, put upon it by its enemies—for the inevitable disorder accompanying its outbreak of revolt.

TWO QUEENS AND PHILIP

No historical studies of Spain have acquired firmer place in the appreciation of students than those by Mr. Martin Hume. In his present volume, "Two English Queens and Philip,"[1] he tells the intimate story of Queens Mary and Elizabeth of England and Philip the Second of Spain. In particular he tells how Philip tried to bring England back into the Roman Catholic Church. This attempt began with the youthful Philip's marriage to the mature Queen Mary. Although his undertaking was practically hopeless after Mary's death, the King never apparently relapsed from his purpose. Indeed, the most interesting part of the book consists of Philip's relations with Elizabeth and of his vain offer of his hand to her. We seem to gain the idea from this volume that if Elizabeth had accepted him he might have made a fairly good husband to her—that is to say, if she had embraced his religion. Mr. Hume assures us that Philip was not only kind but extremely kind to Mary. He even passed himself off as an ardently affectionate lover. That he could do so was doubtless due to the fact that, as our historian says, "throughout his long life he made himself a martyr to what he conceived to be his duty; a slow, laborious, unimaginative, morbidly conscientious man, a good son, a good husband, and, according to his lights, a good father; kind and indulgent to his servants, patient under adversity, and humble in success—yet with a sense of right so blunted by his zeal as to think he might do God's work with the weapons of the devil." Thus the book has a peculiar interest for all students of modern history, for it presents Philip in a new light.

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"The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World"[2] appears in an edition which bears testimony to the fact that it has been popular for half a century, and that few intelligent readers have escaped it in that time. The special feature of this edition is the addition of chapters on certain later battles—Quebec, Yorktown, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sedan, Manila Bay, Santiago, Tsu-Shima—the stories of which are told by different persons.

[1] Two English Queens and Philip. By Martin Hume, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $4.50.
[2] Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World. By Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 70c.

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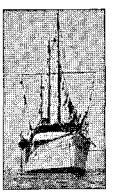

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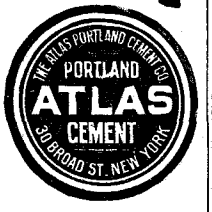

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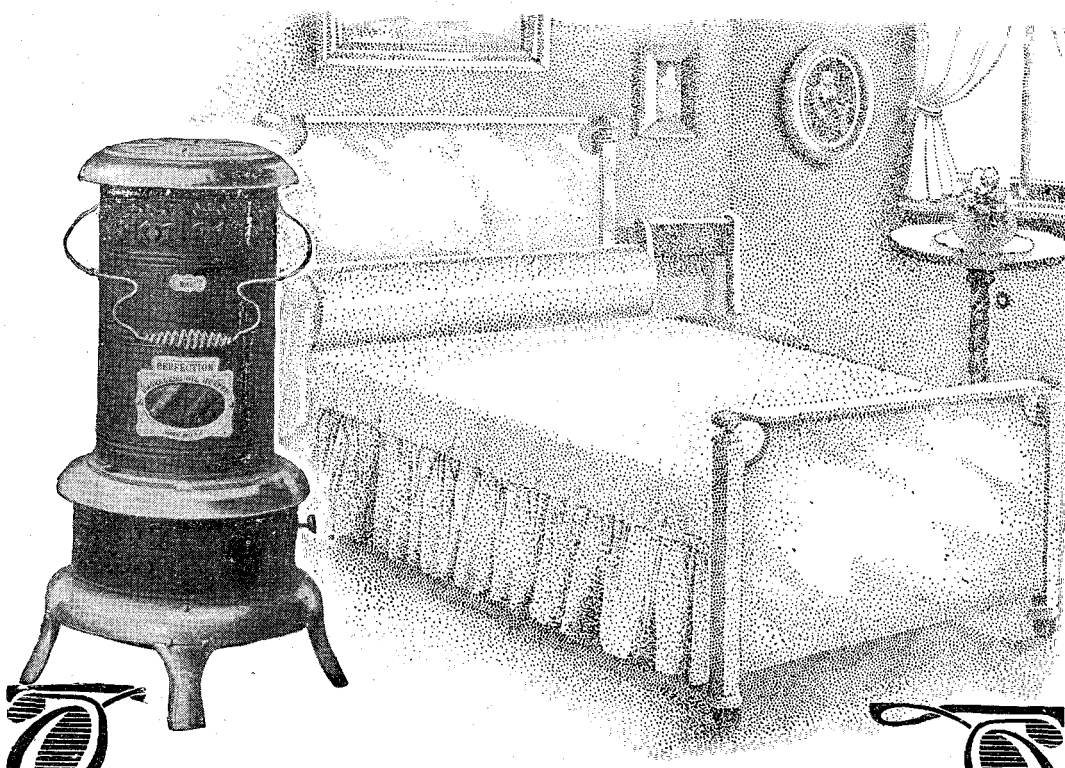

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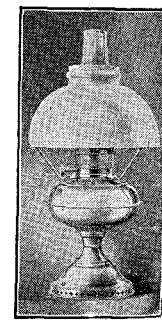

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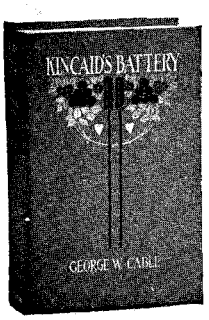

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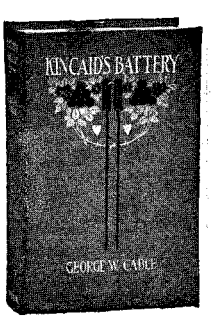

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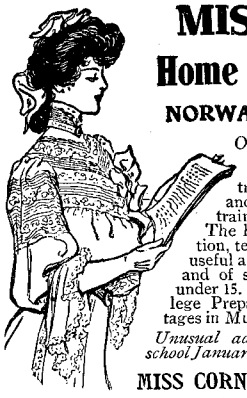

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